POLYBIUS

VI

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POLYBIUS

THE HISTORIES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN SIX VOLUMES

VI

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THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

ΠΟΛΥΒΙΟΥ

FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXVIII

Res Italiae

1 Ὅτι τοῦ πολέμου <τοῦ> περὶ Κοίλης Συρίας ἤδη
καταρχὴν λαβόντος Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ
τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ἧκον πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην
παρὰ μὲν Ἀντιόχου Μελέαγρος καὶ Σωσιφάνης
καὶ Ἡρακλείδης, παρὰ δὲ Πτολεμαίου Τιμόθεος
2 καὶ Δάμων. συνέβαινε δὲ κρατεῖν τὸν Ἀντίοχον
τῶν κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην πραγμάτων.
3 ἐξ οὗ γὰρ Ἀντίοχος ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ νῦν λεγομένου
βασιλέως ἐνίκησε τῇ περὶ τὸ Πάνιον μάχῃ τοὺς
Πτολεμαίου στρατηγούς, ἀπ' ἐκείνων τῶν χρόνων
ἐπείθοντο πάντες οἱ προειρημένοι τόποι τοῖς ἐν
4 Συρίᾳ βασιλεῦσιν. διόπερ ὁ μὲν Ἀντίοχος ἡγού-
μενος τὴν κατὰ πόλεμον ἰσχυροτάτην καὶ καλλίστην
εἶναι κτῆσιν, ὡς ὑπὲρ ἰδίων ἐποιεῖτο τὴν σπουδήν·
5 ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ἀδίκως ὑπολαμβάνων τὸν πρό-
τερον Ἀντίοχον συνεπιθέμενον τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς
ὀρφανίᾳ παρῃρῆσθαι τὰς κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν
πόλεις αὐτῶν, οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν ἐκείνῳ παραχωρεῖν
6 τῶν τόπων τούτων. διόπερ οἱ περὶ τὸν Μελέαγρον
ἧκον, ἐντολὰς ἔχοντες μαρτύρεσθαι τὴν σύγκλητον

THE HISTORIES OF POLYBIUS

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXVIII

I. Affairs of Italy

Embassies from Antiochus and Ptolemy

1. After the war concerning Coele-Syria between Antiochus and Ptolemy had already begun, envoys arrived at Rome, Meleager, Sosiphanes, and Heracledes on the part of Antiochus, and Timotheus and Damon on that of Ptolemy. At this time Antiochus was in possession of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. For ever since the father of this King Antiochus had defeated Ptolemy's generals in the battle at the Panium,[a] all the above districts yielded obedience to the kings of Syria. Therefore Antiochus, thinking that possession by force of arms was the surest and best, was struggling to defend the country as one belonging to him, while Ptolemy, conceiving that the former Antiochus had unjustly profited by the orphanhood of his father to deprive him of the cities of Coele-Syria, was not disposed to abandon these places to Antiochus. Meleager and his colleagues came therefore with instructions to protest to the 170–169 B.C.

[a] See xvi. 18.

διότι Πτολεμαῖος αὐτῷ παρὰ πάντα τὰ δίκαια
7 τὰς χεῖρας ἐπιβάλλει πρότερος, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν
Τιμόθεον περί τε τῆς <τῶν> φιλανθρώπων ἀνανεώ-
σεως καὶ τοῦ διαλύειν τὸν πρὸς Περσέα πόλεμον,
μάλιστα δὲ παρατηρεῖν τὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Μελέ-
8 αγρον ἐντεύξεις. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς διαλύσεως
οὐκ ἐθάρρησαν εἰπεῖν, Μάρκου συμβουλεύσαντος
αὐτοῖς Αἰμιλίου· περὶ δὲ τῶν φιλανθρώπων ἀνα-
νεωσάμενοι καὶ λαβόντες ἀποκρίσεις ἀκολούθους
τοῖς ἀξιουμένοις ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν.
9 τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Μελέαγρον ἡ σύγκλητος ἀπεκρίθη
διότι Κοΐντῳ Μαρκίῳ δώσει τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν
γράψαι περὶ τούτων πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον, ὡς αὐτῷ
δοκεῖ συμφέρειν ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας πίστεως. καὶ
ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἐχειρίσθη κατὰ τὸ παρόν.

2 Ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους ἦλθον καὶ
παρὰ Ῥοδίων πρέσβεις, ἤδη τῆς θερείας ληγούσης,
2 Ἀγησίλοχος καὶ Νικαγόρας καὶ Νίκανδρος, τήν
τε φιλίαν ἀνανεωσόμενοι καὶ σίτου θέλοντες
ἐξαγωγὴν λαβεῖν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν διαβολῶν
ἀπολογησόμενοι τῶν λεγομένων κατὰ τῆς πόλεως.
3 ἐκφανέστατα γὰρ ἐδόκουν στασιάζειν [ἐν τῇ
Ῥόδῳ] οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἀγαθάγητον καὶ Φιλό-
φρονα καὶ Ῥοδοφῶντα καὶ Θεαίδητον, ἀπερει-
δόμενοι πάσας τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους, οἱ
δὲ περὶ τὸν Δείνωνα καὶ Πολυάρατον ἐπὶ Περσέα
4 καὶ Μακεδόνας. ἐξ ὧν πλεονάκις ἐν τοῖς ἐκείνων
πράγμασιν ἀντιρρήσεως γινομένης, καὶ διελκο-
μένων τῶν διαβουλίων, ἐλάμβανον ἀφορμὰς οἱ
5 βουλόμενοι λογοποιεῖν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως. οὐ
μὴν ἥ γε σύγκλητος τότε προσεποιήθη τούτων
οὐδέν, καίπερ σαφῶς εἰδυῖα τὰ γενόμενα παρ'

senate that Ptolemy in defiance of all right had taken up arms first; while Timotheus and Damon were instructed to renew kindly relations with Rome, and to make an end to the war with Perseus, but chiefly to watch the audiences given to Meleager. About terms of peace with Antiochus they did not venture to speak, acting on the advice of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus; but, after renewing relations of friendship and receiving a favourable answer to their requests, they returned to Alexandria. The senate replied to Meleager and his colleague that they would charge Quintus Marcius to write about the matter to Ptolemy as he thought best on his own authority. This was the way that the matter was arranged for the present.

Embassy from Rhodes

2. At this period towards the end of summer Hagesilochus, Nicagoras, and Nicander arrived as envoys from Rhodes to renew friendly relations and obtain permission to export corn and also to defend their town from the false accusations brought against it. For there was at this time acute civil discord in Rhodes, Agathagetus, Philophron, Rhodophon, and Theaedetus resting all their hopes on Rome while Deinon and Polyaratus relied on Perseus and Macedonia. The consequence was that there were frequent debates about their affairs; and, as the discussions were so prolonged, there was plenty of material for those who wished to vamp up accusations against the town. The senate, however, pretended now to be ignorant of all this, although well knowing

αὐτοῖς· σίτου <δ' ἔδωκε> δέκα μυριάδας μεδί-
6 μνων ἐξάγειν ἐκ Σικελίας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡ
σύγκλητος ἐχρηματισεν ἰδίᾳ τοῖς Ῥοδίων πρε-
7 σβευταῖς, ἀκολούθως δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν
ἀπήντησε τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος παραγεγονόσι,
8 τηροῦσιν τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ
τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

II. Bellum Persicum

3 Ὅτι Αὖλος κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀντιστρά-
τηγος ὢν καὶ παραχειμάζων ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μετὰ
τῶν δυνάμεων ἐξέπεμψε πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τοὺς
κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόπους Γάιον Ποπίλιον καὶ
2 Γνάιον Ὀκτάουιον· οἳ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Θήβας
ἐλθόντες ἐπῄνεσαν καὶ παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς Θη-
βαίους διαφυλάττειν τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὔνοιαν.
3 ἑξῆς δὲ τούτοις ἐπιπορευόμενοι τὰς ἐν Πελο-
ποννήσῳ πόλεις ἐπιδεικνύειν ἐπειρῶντο τοῖς ἀν-
θρώποις τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου πρᾳότητα καὶ φιλ-
ανθρωπίαν, προφερόμενοι τὰ δόγματα τὰ μικρῷ
4 πρότερον ῥηθέντα, ἅμα δὲ διὰ τῶν λόγων παρ-
ενέφαινον ὡς εἰδότες τοὺς ἐν ἑκάσταις τῶν πόλεων
παρὰ τὸ δέον ἀναχωροῦντας, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ
5 τοὺς προπίπτοντας. καὶ δῆλοι πᾶσιν ἦσαν δυσ-
6 αρεστούμενοι τοῖς ἀναχωροῦσιν οὐχ ἧττον ἢ
τοῖς ἐκφανῶς ἀντιπράττουσιν. ἐξ ὧν τοὺς πολλοὺς
εἰς ἐπίστασιν καὶ διαπόρησιν ἦγον ὑπὲρ τοῦ τί
ποτ' ἂν ἢ λέγοντες ἢ πράττοντες εὐστοχοῖεν τῶν
7 παρεστώτων καιρῶν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Γάιον, συν-
αχθείσης τῆς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκκλησίας, ἐλέγοντο
μὲν βεβουλεῦσθαι κατηγορήσειν τῶν περὶ τὸν

the condition of affairs in Rhodes; but they gave them leave to export a hundred thousand medimni of corn from Sicily. The senate, after thus dealing separately with the Rhodian embassy, replied in similar terms to all the envoys from the rest of Greece, who confined themselves to the same subject. Such was the state of affairs in Italy.

II. The War with Perseus

Action of the Romans in Achaea, Aetolia, and Acarnania

(Cp. Livy xliii. 17.)

3. Aulus Hostilius Mancinus the proconsul, who was at the time wintering in Thessaly, sent as legates to Greece Gaius Popilius and Gnaeus Octavius. They first came to Thebes, where they thanked the Thebans and urged them to maintain their loyalty to Rome. After this, visiting the Peloponnesian cities, they attempted to convince the inhabitants of the leniency and kindness of the senate, quoting the recent decrees; and they also indicated in their speeches that they knew who were those in each city who withdrew from taking part in public affairs, as well as who were the active and zealous men. It was evident to all that they were just as much displeased with the former as with their open opponents; and in consequence they created a general state of anxiety and doubt as to how one ought to act or to speak so as to make oneself agreeable under present circumstances. It was said that, upon the Achaean Assembly meeting, Popilius and his colleague had

8 Λυκόρταν καὶ τὸν Ἄρχωνα καὶ Πολύβιον, καὶ
παραδείξειν ἀλλοτρίους ὑπάρχοντας τῆς τῶν Ῥω-
μαίων αἱρέσεως καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντας κατὰ
τὸ παρόν, οὐ φύσει τοιούτους ὄντας, ἀλλὰ παρα-
τηροῦντας τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐφ-
9 εδρεύοντας. οὐ μὴν ἐθάρρησαν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι
διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν εὔλογον ἀφορμὴν ἔχειν κατὰ
10 τῶν προειρημένων ἀνδρῶν. διὸ συναχθείσης αὐτοῖς
τῆς βουλῆς εἰς Αἴγιον, ἀσπαστικήν τε καὶ παρα-
κλητικὴν ποιησάμενοι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς
ἔντευξιν ἀπέπλευσαν εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν.

4 Καὶ πάλιν ἐκεῖ συναχθείσης αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐκ-
κλησίας εἰς Θέρμον, παρελθόντες εἰς τοὺς πολ-
λοὺς παρακλητικοὺς καὶ φιλανθρώπους διετίθεντο
2 λόγους. τὸ δὲ συνέχον αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας,
ὁμήρους ἔφασαν δεῖν δοθῆναι σφίσι παρὰ τῶν
3 Αἰτωλῶν. τούτων δὲ καταβάντων, Πρόανδρος ἐπ-
αναστὰς ἐβούλετό τινας εὐχρηστίας πρὸς αὐτοῦ
γεγενημένας εἰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους προφέρεσθαι
4 καὶ κατηγορεῖν τῶν διαβαλλόντων αὐτόν· ἐφ'
ὃν Γάιος πάλιν ἐπαναστάς, καὶ καλῶς εἰδὼς
ἀλλότριον αὐτὸν ὄντα Ῥωμαίων, ὅμως ἐπῄνεσε
5 καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀνθωμολογήσατο. μετὰ
δὲ τοῦτον προελθὼν Λυκίσκος ἐπ' ὀνόματος μὲν
οὐδενὸς ἐποιήσατο κατηγορίαν, καθ' ὑπόνοιαν
6 δὲ πολλῶν. ἔφη γὰρ περὶ μὲν τῶν κορυφαίων
καλῶς βεβουλεῦσθαι Ῥωμαίους, ἀπαγαγόντας αὐ-
τοὺς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, λέγων τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐπό-
7 λεμον καὶ Νίκανδρον, τοὺς δὲ συναγωνιστὰς καὶ
τοὺς παραστάτας τοὺς ἐκείνων ἔτι μένειν κατὰ
τὴν Αἰτωλίαν, οὓς δεῖν ἅπαντας τῆς αὐτῆς τυχεῖν
ἐκείνοις ἐπιστροφῆς, ἂν μὴ προῶνται τὰ τέκνα

decided to accuse Lycortas, Archon, and Polybius before it and prove that they were the opponents of the Roman party and were keeping quiet at present, not because they were naturally disposed to do so, but because they were watching the progress of events and waiting for a favourable opportunity to act. They did not, however, venture to do so, as they had no plausible pretext for attacking the above statesmen. So that when the Achaean senate met at Aegium they addressed a few words of cordial greeting to them and took ship for Aetolia.

4. Here again, upon the Aetolian Assembly meeting at Thermum they appeared before it and spoke in an encouraging and kind manner, the most important part of their speech being a request that the Aetolians should give them hostages. When they descended from the tribune, Proandrus rose and expressed a wish to refer to certain good offices that he had done the Romans and to denounce those who traduced him. Popilius now rose again, and, though he well knew that this man was ill-disposed to the Romans, still thanked him and concurred in all he had said. The next speaker to come forward was Lyciscus, who accused no one by name but many by implication. For he said that the Romans had acted well in deporting the ringleaders (meaning Eupolemus and Nicander) to Rome; but that their supporters and abettors still remained in Aetolia, and should all meet with the same treatment, unless they gave up their children

8 Ῥωμαίοις εἰς ὁμηρείαν. μάλιστα δὲ κατ' Ἀρχε-
δάμου καὶ Πανταλέοντος ἐποίει τὰς ἐμφάσεις.
9 τούτου δὲ παραχωρήσαντος, Πανταλέων ἀναστὰς
τὸν μὲν Λυκίσκον διὰ βραχέων ἐλοιδόρησε, φήσας
αὐτὸν ἀναισχύντως καὶ ἀνελευθέρως κολακεύειν
10 τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Θόαντα μετέβη,
τοῦτον ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι τὸν ἀξιοπίστως ἐνιέντα
τὰς κατ' αὐτῶν διαβολὰς τῷ δοκεῖν μηδεμίαν
11 ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τοῦτον διαφοράν. καὶ τὰ
μὲν ὑπομνήσας τῶν κατ' Ἀντίοχον καιρῶν, τὰ
δ' ὀνειδίσας εἰς ἀχαριστίαν αὐτῷ, διότι δοθεὶς
ἔκδοτος Ῥωμαίοις, πρεσβεύσαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ
12 Νικάνδρου, τύχοι τῆς σωτηρίας ἀνελπίστως, τα-
χέως ἐξεκαλέσατο τοὺς ὄχλους εἰς τὸ μὴ μόνον
θορυβεῖν τὸν Θόανθ', ὅτε βουληθείη τι λέγειν,
13 <ἀλλὰ> καὶ βάλλειν ὁμοθυμαδόν. γενομένων δὲ
τούτων βραχέα καταμεμψάμενος ὁ Γάιος τοὺς
Αἰτωλοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ βάλλειν τὸν Θόανθ', οὗτος μὲν
εὐθέως μετὰ τοῦ συμπρεσβευτοῦ <συν>απῆρεν
εἰς Ἀκαρνανίαν, ἐκσιωπηθεὶς περὶ τῶν ὁμήρων·
τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Αἰτωλίαν ἐν ὑποψίαις ἦν πρὸς
ἀλλήλους καὶ ταραχαῖς ὁλοσχερέσιν.

5 Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν συναχθείσης τῆς
ἐκκλησίας εἰς Θύρρειον, Αἰσχρίων μὲν καὶ Γλαῦ-
κος καὶ Χρέμας ὄντες Ῥωμαίων παρεκάλουν
τοὺς περὶ τὸν Γάιον ἔμφρουρον ποιῆσαι τὴν
2 Ἀκαρνανίαν· εἶναι γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀπο-
φέροντας τὰ πράγματα πρὸς Περσέα καὶ Μακε-
3 δόνας. Διογένης δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἐποιήσατο
τούτοις συμβουλίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἔφη δεῖν φρουρὰν
εἰσάγειν εἰς οὐδεμίαν πόλιν· ταῦτα γὰρ ὑπάρ-
χειν τοῖς πολεμίοις γενομένοις καὶ καταπολε-

to the Romans as hostages. He laid particular stress on the cases of Archedamus and Pantaleon, and when he had left the tribune Pantaleon got up and, after a few reproachful words concerning Lyciscus, in which he said that his flattery of the ruling power was shameless and servile, went on to speak of Thoas who he considered was the man who had secured credence for the accusations he brought against Archedamus and himself owing to the fact that there was not supposed to be any quarrel between them. Reminding them of what had occurred during the war with Antiochus, and rebuking Thoas for his ingratitude, in that when he was given up to the Romans, he had been unexpectedly saved by the intervention of himself and Nicander as envoys, he soon incited the people not only to hoot down Thoas when he wished to speak, but to cast stones at him with one accord. When this happened Popilius, after briefly rebuking the people for stoning Thoas, at once left with his colleague for Acarnania, saying nothing further about the hostages; Aetolia remaining full of mutual suspicion and utter disorder.

5. In Acarnania, when their Assembly met at Thyreum, Aeschrion, Glaucus, and Chremas, who were of the Roman party, begged Popilius and his colleague to establish garrisons in Acarnania; for there were those among them who were falling away towards Perseus and Macedonia. Diogenes, however, gave contrary advice. He said that no garrison should be introduced into any city; for that was the procedure in the case of peoples who had been

4 μηθεῖσιν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· οὐδὲν δὲ πεποιηκότας
Ἀκαρνᾶνας οὐκ ἀξίους εἶναι φρουρὰν εἰσδέχε-
5 σθαι κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον. τοὺς δὲ περὶ Χρέμαν
καὶ Γλαῦκον ἰδίαν ἐθέλοντας κατασκευάζεσθαι
δυναστείαν διαβάλλειν τοὺς ἀντιπολιτευομένους
καὶ θέλειν ἐπισπᾶσθαι φρουρὰν τὴν συνεπι-
6 σχύουσαν ταῖς αὐτῶν πλεονεξίαις. ῥηθέντων δὲ
τούτων οἱ περὶ τὸν Γάιον θεωροῦντες τοὺς ὄχλους
δυσαρεστουμένους ταῖς φρουραῖς καὶ βουλόμενοι
στοιχεῖν τῇ τῆς συγκλήτου προθέσει, συγκατα-
θέμενοι τῇ τοῦ Διογένους γνώμῃ καὶ συνεπ-
αινέσαντες ἀπῆραν ἐπὶ Λαρίσης πρὸς τὸν ἀνθ-
ύπατον.

6 Ὅτι ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἕλλησι περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας
2 ἐπιστάσεως χρείαν ἔχειν τὸ γινόμενον. παρα-
λαβόντες οὖν τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην πολιτείαν
ὁμογνωμονοῦντας· οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν Ἀρκεσίλαος,
Ἀρίστων Μεγαλοπολῖται, Στρατίος Τριταιεύς,
3 Ξένων Πατρεύς, Ἀπολλωνίδας Σικυώνιος· ἐβου-
λεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων. ὁ <μὲν> οὖν
Λυκόρτας ἔμεινεν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς προθέσεως,
κρίνων μήτε Περσεῖ μή<τε> Ῥωμαίοις συνεργεῖν
4 μηδέν, ὁμοίως μηδ' ἀντιπράττειν μηδετέροις. τὸ
μὲν γὰρ συνεργεῖν ἀλυσιτελὲς ἐνόμιζε πᾶσιν
εἶναι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, προορώμενος τὸ μέγεθος
τῆς ἐσομένης ἐξουσίας περὶ τοὺς κρατήσαντας,
5 τὸ δ' ἀντιπράττειν <Ῥωμαίοις> ἐπισφαλὲς διὰ
τὸ πολλοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Ῥωμαίων
ἀντωφθαλμηκέναι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων
6 κατὰ τοὺς ἀνώτερον καιρούς. ὁ δ' Ἀπολλωνίδας
καὶ Στρατίος ἀντιπράττειν μὲν ἐπίτηδες Ῥω-

enemies of the Romans, and who had been subdued by them; but as the Acarnanians had done no wrong, they did not in any way deserve to be forced to accept garrisons. Chremas and Glaucus, he said, were desirous of establishing their own power, and therefore falsely accused their political rivals, and wished to introduce a garrison which would lend its help to the execution of their ambitious projects. After these speeches the legates, seeing that the idea of garrisons was not acceptable to the populace, and wishing to act in accordance with the purpose of the senate, accepted the advice of Diogenes, and, after an expression of thanks, left for Larisa to rejoin the proconsul.

Policy of the Achaeans

6. The Greeks[a] (*sic*) thought that this embassy was worthy of attention. Associating therefore with themselves those who were in general sympathy with their policy, these being Arcesilaus and Ariston of Megalopolis, Stratius of Tritaea, Xenon of Patrae, and Apollonidas of Sicyon, they discussed the situation. Lycortas held to his original opinion, judging that they should neither give any active aid either to Perseus or to the Romans nor offer any opposition to either side. To render help to the Romans he considered disadvantageous to all the Greeks, as he foresaw how very strong the victors in the war would be, while he thought it dangerous to act against Rome, since at a previous period they had braved many of the most distinguished Romans about affairs of state. Apollonidas and Stratius did not think

[a] The epitomator should have said "Lycortas, his party."

μαίοις οὐκ ᾤοντο δεῖν· τοὺς δ' ὑπερκυβιστῶντας
καὶ διὰ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἰδίαν χάριν ἀπο-
τιθεμένους παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῦτο πράττοντας
παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ παρὰ τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον,
τούτους ἔφασαν δεῖν κωλύειν καὶ πρὸς τούτους
7 ἀντοφθαλμεῖν εὐγενῶς. ὁ δ' Ἄρχων ἀκολουθεῖν
ἔφη δεῖν τοῖς καιροῖς καὶ μὴ διδόναι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς
ἀφορμὴν εἰς διαβολὴν μηδὲ προέσθαι σφᾶς αὐ-
τοὺς εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἐλθεῖν διάθεσιν τοῖς περὶ
Νίκανδρον, οἵτινες, πρὶν ἢ λαβεῖν πεῖραν τῆς
τούτων ἐξουσίας, ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις εἰσὶ συν-
8 ταλαιπωρίαις. ταύτης δὲ τῆς γνώμης μετέσχον
9 Πολύβιος, Ἀρκεσίλαος, Ἀρίστων, Ξένων. διὸ
καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἄρχωνα πρὸς τὴν στρατηγίαν ἔδο-
ξεν αὐτοῖς εὐθέως προπορεύεσθαι, τὸν δὲ Πολύ-
βιον πρὸς τὴν ἱππαρχίαν.

7 Τούτων δὴ νεωστὶ γεγονότων καὶ προδιειληφό-
των τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἄρχωνα διότι δεῖ συμπράτ-
τειν Ῥωμαίοις καὶ τοῖς τούτων φίλοις, τυχικῶς
πως συνέβη τὸν Ἄτταλον πρὸς ἑτοίμους ὄντας
2 ποιήσασθαι τοὺς λόγους. διὸ καὶ προθύμως
αὐτῷ κατανεύσαντες ὑπέσχοντο συμπράξειν ὑπὲρ
3 τῶν παρακαλουμένων. τοῦ δ' Ἀττάλου πέμ-
ψαντος πρεσβευτάς, καὶ παραγενομένων τούτων
εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἀγορὰν καὶ διαλεγομένων τοῖς
Ἀχαιοῖς περὶ τοῦ τὰς τιμὰς ἀποκατασταθῆναι
τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ παρακαλούντων ποιῆσαι τοῦτο
4 διὰ τῆς Ἀττάλου χάριτος, ὁ μὲν ὄχλος ἄδηλος
ἦν ἐπὶ τίνος ὑπάρχει γνώμης, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀντι-
λογίαν ἀνίσταντο πολλοὶ καὶ διὰ πολλὰς αἰτίας.
5 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αἴτιοι γενόμενοι τῆς ἀναι-
ρέσεως τῶν τιμῶν βεβαιοῦν ἐβούλοντο τὴν αὐτῶν

they should take any special action against Rome, but he said that those Achaeans who were ready to make the plunge, trying to ingratiate themselves personally with the Romans by their public action, in defiance of law and contrary to the public interest, should be prevented and boldly confronted. Archon advised them to act as circumstances enjoined, and neither give their enemies any pretext for accusing them nor allow themselves to be reduced to the same state as Nicander, who, even before he experienced the weight of the Roman power, found himself in the utmost distress. Polybius, Arcesilaus, Ariston, and Xenon shared this opinion. It was therefore decided that Archon should at once proceed to take up his duties as strategus and Polybius as hipparch.

7. Just after this decision had been taken, and when it was clear that Archon was determined to act with the Romans and their friends, it happened by mere chance that Attalus addressed himself to this statesman who was quite ready to listen to him, and gladly promised to help him to obtain what he requested. When the envoys he had sent appeared at the first session of the Assembly, and spoke to the Achaeans about the restitution of the honours conferred on Eumenes, begging them to do this as a favour to Attalus, it was not clear what view the people took; but many speakers got up to oppose the motion on various grounds. First of all the original authors of the revocation of the honours were anxious to get their opinion confirmed, while others who

γνώμην· οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν κατ' ἰδίαν ἐγκλημάτων
ὑπέλαβον καιρὸν ἔχειν ἀμύνεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα·
τινὲς δὲ διὰ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς συμπράττοντας φθόνον
ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο μὴ κρατῆσαι τὸν Ἄτταλον τῆς
6 ἐπιβολῆς. ὁ δ' Ἄρχων ἀνέστη μὲν βοηθήσων
τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς· ἐκάλει γὰρ τὰ πράγματα τὴν
τοῦ στρατηγοῦ γνώμην. βραχέα δ' εἰπὼν ἀν-
7 εχώρησε, διευλαβηθεὶς μὴ δόξῃ κέρδους τινὸς
ἕνεκεν συμβουλεύειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἱκανὸν χρημά-
8 των εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν δεδαπανηκέναι. πολλῆς δ'
οὔσης ἀπορίας ὁ Πολύβιος ἀναστὰς ἐποιήσατο
μὲν καὶ πλείονας λόγους, μάλιστα δὲ προσέδραμε
πρὸς τὴν τῶν πολλῶν γνώμην, ὑποδείξας τὸ
γεγονὸς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ψήφισμα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ὑπὲρ
τῶν τιμῶν ἐν ᾧ γεγραμμένον ἦν ὅτι δεῖ τὰς
ἀπρεπεῖς ἀρθῆναι τιμὰς καὶ τὰς παρανόμους, οὐ
9 μὰ Δί' ἁπάσας. τοὺς δὲ περὶ Σωσιγένη καὶ
Διοπείθη, δικαστὰς [Ῥοδίους] ὑπάρχοντας κατ'
ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ διαφερομένους ἔκ τινων
ἰδίων πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένη, λαβομένους ἔφη τῆς
ἀφορμῆς ταύτης πάσας ἀνατετροφέναι τὰς τιμὰς
10 τοῦ βασιλέως. καὶ τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι παρὰ
τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν δόγμα καὶ παρὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν
αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον, παρὰ τὸ δί-
11 καιον καὶ τὸ καλῶς ἔχον. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἠδικη-
μένους τι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς βουλεύσασθαι τὰς τιμὰς
αἴρειν τὰς Εὐμένους, ἀλλὰ μείζους αὐτοῦ ζητοῦν-
τος τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, τούτῳ προσκόψαντας ψη-
12 φίσασθαι τὸ πλεονάζον παρελεῖν. διόπερ ἔφη
δεῖν, καθάπερ οἱ δικασταὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἔχθραν ἐπί-
προσθεν ποιήσαντες τοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εὐσχή-
μονος ἀνέτρεψαν πάσας τὰς τιμάς, οὕτω τοὺς

had special grievances against the king thought this a good opportunity of expressing their resentment, and some out of a mere grudge against his supporters did all in their power to defeat the project of Attalus. Archon rose to speak on behalf of the envoys, as the situation was such as to call for an expression of opinion by the strategus; but after quite a short speech he left as he was careful not to be thought to give advice for the sake of some personal gain, having spent a considerable sum of money during his term of office. Much hesitation now prevailed; and Polybius rose and spoke at some length, for the most part in favour of the opinion of the majority, quoting the original decree of the Achaeans about the honours, in which it was written that the improper and illegal honours should be revoked, but not by any means all honours. But Sosigenes and Diopeithes he said, who were at that time judges, and had some private differences with Eumenes, availed themselves of this pretext to subvert all the honours conferred on the king, and had done this in defiance of the decree of the Achaeans and in excess of the authority given them, and, what was most important, in violation of justice and right. For the Achaeans had not decided to cancel the honours of Eumenes because he had injured them in any way but, taking offence at his having demanded higher honours than his services merited, had voted to deprive him of those which were in excess. He said, therefore, that as the judges, setting their own enmity before the dignity of the Achaeans, had subverted all the honours; so

Ἀχαιοὺς κυριώτατον ἡγησαμένους τὸ σφίσι καθῆκον καὶ πρέπον διορθώσασθαι τὴν τῶν δικαστῶν ἁμαρτίαν καὶ καθόλου τὴν πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένη γε-
13 γενημένην ἀλογίαν, ἄλλως τε καὶ μέλλοντας μὴ μόνον ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν βασιλέα τὴν χάριν ἀπερείδεσθαι ταύτην, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον εἰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν
14 Ἄτταλον. τοῦ δὲ πλήθους εὐδοκήσαντος τοῖς λεγομένοις, ἐγράφη δόγμα προστάττον τοῖς ἄρχουσι πάσας ἀποκαταστῆσαι τὰς Εὐμένους τοῦ βασιλέως τιμάς, πλὴν εἴ τινες ἀπρεπές τι περιέχουσι
15 τῷ κοινῷ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἢ παράνομον. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸν τρόπον καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Ἄτταλος διωρθώσατο τὴν γενομένην ἀλογίαν περὶ τὰς ὑπαρχούσας Εὐμένει τἀδελφῷ τιμὰς κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

8 Ὅτι Περσεὺς πρὸς Γένθιον τὸν βασιλέα ἀπέστειλε πρεσβευτὰς Πλευρᾶτόν τε τὸν Ἰλλυριόν, ὄντα φυγάδα παρ' αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸν Βεροιαῖον Ἀ-
2 δαῖον, δοὺς ἐντολὰς διασαφεῖν τὰ πεπραγμένα κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον πρός τε Ῥωμαίους αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς Δαρδανίους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἠπειρώτας καὶ πρὸς Ἰλλυριοὺς κατὰ τὸ παρόν, καὶ παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν τούτου καὶ Μακεδόνων
3 φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν. οἳ καὶ ποιησάμενοι τὴν πορείαν ὑπὲρ τὸ Σκάρδον ὄρος διὰ τῆς Ἐρήμου καλουμένης Ἰλλυρίδος, ἣν οὐ πολλοῖς χρόνοις ἀνώτερον ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν Μακεδόνες εἰς τὸ δυσέργους ποιῆσαι τοῖς Δαρδανεῦσι τὰς εἰς τὴν
4 Ἰλλυρίδα <καὶ Μακεδονίαν> εἰσβολάς· πλὴν οἵ γε περὶ τὸν Ἀδαῖον διὰ τούτων τῶν τόπων μετὰ πολλῆς κακοπαθείας ἦλθον εἰς Σκόδραν καὶ

the Achaeans should now, considering their own obligation and propriety of conduct to be the most important thing, correct the error of the judges, and in general the foolish treatment that Eumenes had met with ; especially as they would not in doing so be granting this as a special favour to Eumenes, but to his brother Attalus. The people approved this speech, and a decree was made enjoining that all the honours conferred on King Eumenes should be restored, except those which either contained anything that did not become the Achaean League or anything illegal. It was in this manner and at this time that Attalus set right the foolish mistake that had been made regarding the honours conferred on his brother Eumenes in the Peloponnesus.

Negotiations of Perseus with Genthius

(Cp. Livy xliii. 19. 12–20. 4.)

8. Perseus sent Pleuratus the Illyrian, who had taken refuge with him, and Adaeus of Beroea, as envoys to King Genthius, with instructions to announce to him what had happened in the war he was engaged in against the Romans and Dardanians, and for the present at least with the Epirots and Illyrians ; and to solicit him to enter into an alliance with himself and the Macedonians. The envoys, crossing Mount Scardus, journeyed through the so-called Desert Illyria, which not many years previously had been depopulated by the Macedonians in order to make it difficult for the Dardanians to invade Illyria and Macedonia. Traversing this district, and enduring great hardships on the journey, they reached

πυθόμενοι τὸν Γένθιον ἐν Λίσσῳ διατρίβειν δι-
5 επέμψαντο πρὸς αὐτόν. τοῦ δὲ ταχέως αὐτοὺς
μεταπεμψαμένου, συμμίξαντες διελέγοντο περὶ ὧν
6 εἶχον τὰς ἐντολάς. ὁ δὲ Γένθιος οὐκ ἐδόκει
μὲν ἀλλότριος εἶναι τῆς πρὸς τὸν Περσέα φιλίας,
ἐσκήπτετο δὲ τοῦ μὴ παραχρῆμα συγκατα-
τίθεσθαι τοῖς ἀξιουμένοις τὴν ἀχορηγησίαν καὶ
μὴ δύνασθαι χωρὶς χρημάτων ἀναδέξασθαι τὸν
7 πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον. οἱ μὲν <οὖν> περὶ
τὸν Ἀδαῖον ταύτας λαβόντες τὰς ἀποκρίσεις
8 ἐπανῆγον. ὁ δὲ Περσεὺς παραγενόμενος εἰς
Στύβερραν τήν τε λείαν ἐλαφυροπώλησεν καὶ
τὴν δύναμιν ἀνέπαυσε, προσδεχόμενος τοὺς περὶ
9 τὸν Πλευρᾶτον. παραγενομένων δ᾽ αὐτῶν, ἀκού-
σας τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Γενθίου πάλιν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔπεμπε
τὸν Ἀδαῖον καὶ σὺν τούτῳ τὸν Γλαυκίαν, ἕνα τῶν
σωματοφυλάκων, καὶ τρίτον τὸν Ἰλλυριὸν διὰ τὸ
10 τὴν διάλεκτον εἰδέναι τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα, δοὺς ἐντολὰς
τὰς αὐτάς, ὥσπερ οὐ κυρίως τοῦ Γενθίου δια-
σεσαφηκότος τίνος προσδεῖται καὶ τίνος γενομένου
δύναται συγκαταβαίνειν εἰς τὰ παρακαλούμενα.
11 τούτων δ᾽ ἀφορμησάντων, ἀναζεύξας αὐτὸς μετὰ
τῆς δυνάμεως ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πορείαν ἐφ᾽ Ὕσκανα.
9 Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἧκον οἱ πρὸς τὸν
Γένθιον ἀποσταλέντες πρέσβεις οὔτ᾽ ᾠκονομη-
κότες πλεῖον οὐδὲν τῶν πρότερον οὔτ᾽ ἀναγγέλ-
2 λοντες, διὰ τὸ τὸν Γένθιον μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς
αἱρέσεως, ὄντα μὲν ἕτοιμον τῷ Περσεῖ κοινωνεῖν
τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων, χρημάτων δὲ φάσκοντα
3 χρείαν ἔχειν. ὧν ὁ Περσεὺς παρακούσας πάλιν
ἔπεμπε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἱππίαν βεβαιωσομένους
ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν, τὸ συνέχον παραλιπών,

Scodra; and, learning that Genthius was staying in Lissus, sent a message to him. Genthius at once sent for them, and they conversed with him on the matters covered by their instructions. Genthius did not seem to be averse to making friendship with Perseus; but he excused himself from complying at once with their request on the ground of his want of resources and the impossibility of undertaking a war against Rome without money. Adaeus and his colleague, on receiving this answer, returned. Perseus, on arriving at Styberra, sold the booty, and rested his army waiting for the return of the envoys. Upon their arrival, after hearing the answer of Genthius, he once more dispatched Adaeus, accompanied by Glaucias, one of his bodyguard, and again by Pleuratus owing to his knowledge of the Illyrian language, with the same instructions as before, just as if Genthius had not expressly indicated what he was in need of, and what must be done before he could consent to the request. Upon their departure the king left with his army and marched towards Hyscana.

(Cp. Livy xliii. 23. 8.)

9. At this time the envoys sent to Genthius returned, having achieved nothing more than on their first visit, and having nothing further to report; as Genthius maintained the same attitude, being ready to join Perseus, but saying that he stood in need of money. Perseus, paying little heed to them, now sent Hippias to establish a definite agreement, but omitted the all-important matter, saying

φάσκων ἐξιγμένον . . . εὐνοοῦντα ποιήσειν τὸν
4 Γένθιον· ὥστε διαπορεῖν πότερα δεῖ λέγειν ἐπὶ
τῶν τοιούτων ἀλογιστίαν ἢ δαιμονοβλάβειαν. δο-
κῶ μὲν ὅτι δαιμονοβλάβειαν, οἵτινες ἐφίενται
μὲν τοῦ μεγάλα τολμᾶν καὶ παραβάλλονται τῇ
ψυχῇ, παριᾶσιν δὲ τὸ συνέχον ἐν ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς,
5 βλέποντες αὐτὸ καὶ δυνάμενοι πράττειν . . . ὅτι
γάρ, εἰ Περσεὺς κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἠβου-
λήθη προέσθαι χρήματα καὶ κοινῇ τοῖς πολιτεύ-
μασι καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ τοῖς πο-
λιτευομένοις, οὐ λέγω μεγαλομερῶς, καθάπερ
ἐξῆν αὐτῷ χορηγιῶν ἕνεκεν, ἀλλὰ μετρίως μόνον,
6 πάντας ἂν συνέβη καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ τοὺς
βασιλεῖς, εἰ δὲ μή γε, τοὺς πλείστους ἐξελεγχθῆ-
ναι, δοκῶ μηδένα τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων πρός με
7 διαμφισβητῆσαι περὶ τούτων. νῦν δὲ καλῶς
ποιῶν οὐκ ἦλθε ταύτην τὴν ὁδόν, δι' ἧς ἢ κρα-
τήσας τῶν ὅλων ἐξουσίαν <ἂν> ὑπερήφανον ἔσχεν
ἢ σφαλεὶς πολλοὺς ἂν ἐποίησε τῆς αὐτῆς <τύχης>
8 πεῖραν αὐτῷ λαβεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐναντίαν, δι' ἧς
ὀλίγοι τελέως ἠλογήθησαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπὸ
τὸν τῆς πράξεως καιρόν.

10 Ὅτι ὁ Περσεὺς ἐπταικὼς τοῖς ὅλοις ἐπὶ τῷ
(9a) εἰσελθεῖν Ῥωμαίους εἰς Μακεδονίαν τῷ Ἱππίᾳ
ἐπετίμα. ἀλλά μοι δοκεῖ τὸ μὲν ἐπιτιμῆσαι
τοῖς ἄλλοις εἶναι ῥᾴδιον καὶ συνιδεῖν τὰς τῶν
πέλας ἁμαρτίας, τὸ δ' αὐτὸν πράττειν τὰ δυνατὰ
καὶ γνῶναι τὰ καθ' αὑτὸν πάντων δυσχερέστατον.
ὃ καὶ περὶ τὸν Περσέα συνέβη γενέσθαι.

that if he . . . he would make Genthius well disposed. One doubts if one should attribute such conduct to mere thoughtlessness or to bewitchment. I think it is rather bewitchment, when men who aspire to venture much and run the risk of their lives, neglect the all-important matter in their enterprises, although they clearly see it and have the power to do it. For had Perseus at that period been willing to advance money to whole states and individually to kings and statesmen—I do not say on a lavish scale, as his resources enabled him to do, but only in moderate amounts—no intelligent man I suppose would dispute that all the Greeks and all the kings, or at least the most of them, would have failed to withstand the temptation. Instead of taking that course, by which either, if completely victorious, he would have created a splendid empire, or, if defeated, would have exposed many to the same ruin as himself, he took the opposite one, owing to which quite a few of the Greeks went wrong in their calculations when the time for action came.

Perseus blames his General

(Cp. Livy xliv. 7.)

10. Perseus, on his total defeat blamed Hippias for the invasion of Macedonia by the Romans. But to me it seems to be an easy thing to blame others and detect the faults of our neighbours, but the most difficult thing in life to do all that is possible oneself and know one's situation; and in this Perseus failed.

11 Τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἥλω ἰδίαν τινὰ ἅλωσιν. ἐχού-
(12) σης τῆς πόλεως ἐφ' ἑνὸς μέρους ἐπ' ὀλίγον τόπον
ταπεινὸν τεῖχος, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τρεῖς σημείας προ-
2 εχειρίσαντο. καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ τοὺς θυρεοὺς
ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ποιήσαντες συνέφραξαν, ὥστε
τῇ τῶν ὅπλων πυκνότητι κεραμωτῷ καταρρύτῳ
γίνεσθαι παραπλήσιον. ἐφεξῆς δ' ἕτεραι δύο . . .

III. Res Graeciae

12 Ὅτι τοῦ Περσέως βουλομένου ἥξειν μετὰ
(10) δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν καὶ λήψεσθαι τὰ
ὅλα κρίσιν ἐκ τῶν κατὰ λόγον, ἔδοξε τοῖς περὶ
τὸν Ἄρχωνα δι' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπολο-
γεῖσθαι πάλιν πρὸς τὰς ὑπονοίας καὶ διαβολάς.
2 εἰσήνεγκαν οὖν εἰς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς δόγμα διότι
δεῖ πανδημεὶ ποιησαμένους τὴν ἔξοδον εἰς Θεττα-
λίαν κοινωνῆσαι τῶν πραγμάτων ὁλοσχερῶς τοῖς
3 Ῥωμαίοις. καὶ τούτου κυρωθέντος ἔδοξε τοῖς
Ἀχαιοῖς τὸν Ἄρχωνα γίνεσθαι περὶ τὴν συν-
αγωγὴν τοῦ στρατεύματος καὶ περὶ τὰς εἰς τὴν
ἔξοδον παρασκευάς, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὕπατον πρεσβευ-
τὰς πέμπειν εἰς Θετταλίαν τοὺς τὰ δεδογμένα
τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς διασαφήσοντας καὶ πευσομένους
πότε καὶ ποῦ δεῖ συμμιγνύειν αὐτῷ τὸ στρατό-
4 πεδον. καὶ κατέστησαν πρεσβευτὰς παραχρῆμα
Πολύβιον καὶ ἄλλους καὶ ἐνετείλαντο τῷ Πολυ-
βίῳ φιλοτίμως, ἐὰν ὁ στρατηγὸς εὐδοκῇ τῇ
παρουσίᾳ τοῦ στρατοπέδου, τοὺς μὲν <συμ>πρε-
σβευτὰς ἐξ αὐτῆς πέμπειν διασαφήσοντας, ἵνα
5 μὴ καθυστερῶσι τῶν καιρῶν, αὐτὸν δὲ φροντίζειν

The Testudo

(Suid.; cp. Livy xliv. 9. 8.)

11. Heracleium was taken in a peculiar manner. The town had a low wall of no great extent on one side, and to attack this the Romans employed three picked maniples. The men of the first held their shields over the heads, and closed up, so that, owing to the density of the bucklers, it became like a tiled roof. The other two in succession . . .

III. Affairs of Greece

Embassy of Polybius to the Consul

12. When Perseus had made up his mind to enter Thessaly with his army, and every one expected a decisive engagement, Archon resolved to rebut the suspicions and accusations of the Romans by positive action this time. He therefore introduced in the Achaean Assembly a decree enjoining that they should march to Thessaly in full force and unreservedly join the Romans. The decree having been passed, they further decreed that Archon should occupy himself with the collection of their forces and the preparations for the expedition, and they decided to send envoys to the consul in Thessaly conveying the purpose of their decree and asking when and where their army should join him. As envoys they at once appointed Polybius and others, and strictly enjoined Polybius, if the consul approved of the advent of the army, to send back his colleagues at once to inform them, so that they should not be behindhand; and meanwhile to look to it that the

ἵνα τὸ στράτευμα πᾶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀγορὰς
ἔχῃ, δι᾽ ὧν ἂν πορεύηται, καὶ μηδὲν ἐλλείπῃ
6 τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τοὺς στρατιώτας. ταύτας μὲν
οὖν ἔχοντες οἱ προειρημένοι τὰς ἐντολὰς ἐξώρμη-
7 σαν· κατέστησαν δὲ καὶ πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς Ἄτ-
ταλον τοὺς περὶ Τηλόκριτον, ἀποκομίζοντας τὸ
δόγμα τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως τῶν Εὐμέ-
8 νους τιμῶν. καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ
περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου προσπεσόντος
τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς διότι γέγονεν αὐτῷ τὰ νομιζόμενα
γίνεσθαι τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, ὅταν εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλ-
9 θωσιν, ἀνακλητήρια, νομίσαντες σφίσι καθήκειν
ἐπισημήνασθαι τὸ γεγονός, ἐψηφίσαντο πέμπειν
πρεσβευτὰς ἀνανεωσομένους τὰ προϋπάρχοντα
τῷ ἔθνει φιλάνθρωπα πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ παρ-
αυτίκα κατέστησαν Ἀλκίθον καὶ Πασιάδαν.
13 Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πολύβιον καταλαβόντες τοὺς
(11) Ῥωμαίους ἐκ μὲν τῆς Θετταλίας κεκινηκότας,
τῆς δὲ Περραιβίας στρατοπεδεύοντας Ἀζωρίου
2 μεταξὺ καὶ Δολίχης, τὴν μὲν ἔντευξιν ὑπερ-
έθεντο διὰ τοὺς περιεστῶτας καιρούς, τῶν δὲ κατὰ
τὴν εἴσοδον τὴν εἰς Μακεδονίαν κινδύνων μετ-
3 εῖχον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος κατάραντος ἐπὶ
τοὺς καθ᾽ Ἡράκλειον τόπους ἔδοξε καιρὸς εἶναι
πρὸς ἔντευξιν, ἅτε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δοκοῦντος
4 ἠνύσθαι τὸ μέγιστον τῶν προκειμένων, τότε
λαβόντες καιρὸν τὸ ψήφισμα τῷ Μαρκίῳ προσ-
ήνεγκαν καὶ διεσάφουν τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν προ-
αίρεσιν διότι βουληθεῖεν αὐτῷ πανδημεὶ τῶν αὐτῶν
μετασχεῖν ἀγώνων καὶ κινδύνων. καὶ πρὸς τού-
τοις ὑπέδειξαν διότι πᾶν τὸ γραφὲν ἢ παραγγελθὲν
τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων κατὰ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα

army might find markets in all the towns it passed through and that the men should be in no want of provisions. The envoys hereupon left with those instructions. They also appointed Telocritus as their envoy to Attalus bearing the decree about the restitution of the honours of Eumenes ; and when it reached their ears at the same time that the *Anacleteria*, the festival usually celebrated upon kings coming of age, had been celebrated in honour of King Ptolemy, thinking that they ought to notice the event, they voted to send envoys to him to renew the friendly relations which had existed between the League and the kingdom of Egypt, and at once nominated Alcithus and Pasiadas.

13. Polybius and his colleagues, on finding that the Romans had moved out of Thessaly and were encamped in Perrhaebia between Azorium and Doliche, deferred the interview owing to the critical state of affairs, but shared in the danger of the invasion of Macedonia. But when the Roman army had come down to the district of Heracleium, and they deemed it time for the interview, as the general seemed to have accomplished the chief part of his task, they at once, when they had an opportunity, presented the decree to Marcius, and informed him of the determination of the Achaeans to send their total force to share with him in the struggles and dangers of the war. In addition they pointed out to him that all communications and commands which had reached the Achaeans from the Romans during

5 πόλεμον ἀναντίρρητον γέγονεν. τοῦ δὲ Μαρκίου
τὴν μὲν προαίρεσιν ἀποδεχομένου τὴν Ἀχαιῶν
μεγαλωστί, τῆς δὲ κακοπαθείας αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς
δαπάνης παραλύοντος διὰ τὸ μηκέτι χρείαν ἔχειν
6 τοὺς καιροὺς τῆς τῶν συμμάχων βοηθείας, οἱ
μὲν ἄλλοι πρέσβεις ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν,
ὁ δὲ Πολύβιος αὐτοῦ μείνας μετεῖχε τῶν ἐν-
7 εστώτων πραγμάτων, ἕως ὁ Μάρκιος ἀκούσας
Ἄππιον τὸν Κέντωνα πεντακισχιλίους στρατιώτας
αἰτεῖσθαι παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς Ἤπειρον, ἐξ-
απέστειλε τὸν προειρημένον, παρακαλέσας φροντί-
ζειν ἵνα μὴ δοθῶσιν οἱ στρατιῶται μηδὲ τηλικοῦτο
δαπάνημα μάταιον γένηται τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς· πρὸς
οὐδένα γὰρ λόγον αἰτεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας τὸν
8 Ἄππιον. πότερα δὲ τοῦτ᾿ ἐποίει κηδόμενος
τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἢ τὸν Ἄππιον ἀπραγεῖν βουλόμενος
9 χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν. πλὴν ὅ γε Πολύβιος ἀναχω-
ρήσας εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον, ἤδη τῶν γραμμάτων
ἐκ τῆς Ἠπείρου προσπεπτωκότων καὶ μετ᾿ οὐ
πολὺ συναχθέντων εἰς Σικυῶνα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, εἰς
10 πρόβλημα παμμέγεθες ἐνέπεσε. τοῦ γὰρ δια-
βουλίου προτεθέντος ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ Κέντων ᾐτεῖτο
στρατιωτῶν, ἃ μὲν ὁ Μάρκιος αὐτῷ φροντίζειν
κατ᾿ ἰδίαν ἐνετείλατο, ταῦτα φωτίζειν οὐδαμῶς
ἔκρινεν· τὸ δὲ μηδεμιᾶς <αἰτίας> ὑπαρχούσης
φανερῶς ἀντιλέγειν τῇ βοηθείᾳ τελείως ἦν ἐπι-
11 σφαλές. δυσχρήστου δὲ καὶ ποικίλης οὔσης
τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἐχρήσατο βοηθήματι πρὸς τὸ
παρὸν τῷ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγματι τῷ κελεύοντι
μηδένα προσέχειν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν γρα-
φομένοις, ἐὰν μὴ τοῦτο ποιῶσιν κατὰ τὸ δόγμα
12 τῆς συγκλήτου. τοῦτο δ᾿ οὐκ ἦν προσκείμενον

the present war had been duly complied with. Marcius, while highly gratified by the proposal of the Achaeans, relieved them of the suffering and expense, as under present circumstances he was in no want of the assistance of the allies. Hereupon the other envoys returned to Achaea; but Polybius remained and assisted in the campaign, until Marcius, on hearing that Appius Cento was asking the Achaeans to send him five thousand men to Epirus, dispatched Polybius, begging him to see that the soldiers were not given and no such useless outlay inflicted on the Achaeans, as Appius had no sound reason for such a demand. It is difficult to say whether he acted thus out of regard for the Achaeans, or from the wish to keep Appius idle. Polybius, in any case, returned to Peloponnesus, and finding that the letter from Epirus had already arrived, and that shortly afterwards the Achaean Assembly had met at Sicyon, was faced by a most difficult problem. For when a resolution was moved about Cento's demand for troops, he thought it by no means proper to reveal the private instructions that Marcius had given him; while on the other hand to oppose openly the project of sending assistance was an exceedingly hazardous course to take. In this difficult and complicated situation he called to his help for the present the senatus-consultum which enjoined that no one should attend to requests made by commanders, unless they were acting by a decree of the senate, there being no addition to this effect

13 τοῖς γράμμασι. διὸ καὶ κατεκράτησε τοῦ τὴν
ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τὸν ὕπατον γενέσθαι καὶ δι' ἐκείνου
παραλυθῆναι τῆς δαπάνης τὸ ἔθνος, οὔσης ὑπὲρ
14 ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι τάλαντα μεγάλα. τοῖς γε μὴν
βουλομένοις διαβάλλειν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Ἄππιον
ἀφορμὰς ἔδωκεν, ὅτι διακόψαι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν
αὐτοῦ τὴν περὶ τῆς βοηθείας.

14 Ὅτι οἱ Κυδωνιᾶται κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον
(xxvii. 16) ἐποίησαν πρᾶγμα δεινὸν καὶ παράσπονδον ὁμο-
2 λογουμένως. καίπερ <γὰρ> πολλῶν τοιούτων γε-
νομένων κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην, ὅμως ἔδοξεν ὑπερ-
3 αίρειν τὴν συνήθειαν τὸ τότε γενόμενον. ὑπ-
αρχούσης γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐ μόνον φιλίας, ἀλλὰ
συμπολιτείας πρὸς Ἀπολλωνιάτας καὶ καθόλου
κοινωνίας πάντων τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις νομιζο-
μένων δικαίων, καὶ περὶ τούτων κειμένης ἐνόρκου
4 συνθήκης παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἰδαῖον, παρα-
σπονδήσαντες τοὺς Ἀπολλωνιάτας κατελάβοντο
τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας κατέσφαξαν, τὰ
δ' ὑπάρχοντα διήρπασαν, τὰς <δὲ> γυναῖκας καὶ
τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν διανειμά-
μενοι κατεῖχον.

15 Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην δεδιότες Κυδωνιᾶται
(13) τοὺς Γορτυνίους διὰ τὸ καὶ τῷ πρότερον ἔτει
παρ' ὀλίγον κεκινδυνευκέναι τῇ πόλει τῶν περὶ
Νοθοκράτην ἐπιβαλομένων αὐτὴν κατασχεῖν, ἐξ-
έπεμψαν πρέσβεις πρὸς Εὐμένη, βοήθειαν αἰτού-
2 μενοι κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς προ-
χειρισάμενος Λέοντα καὶ στρατιώτας σὺν τούτῳ

in the letter. He managed therefore to have the matter referred to the consul, and through the intervention of the latter, to relieve the League of this expense, which amounted to more than a hundred and twenty full talents. But he furnished those who wished to accuse him to Appius with a good pretext in having thus put a stop to his plan of procuring assistance.

Affairs in Crete

14. The people of Cydonia at this time committed a shocking act of treachery universally condemned. For although many such things have happened in Crete, what was done then was thought to surpass all other instances of their habitual ferocity. For while they were not only friends with the Apolloniats, but united with them in one community, and shared with them in general all the rights observed by men, there being a sworn treaty to this effect deposited in the temple of Idaean Zeus, they treacherously seized on the city, killing the men, laying violent hands on all property, and dividing among themselves and keeping the women and children, and the city with its territory.

15. In Crete the people of Cydonia, standing in fear of the Gortynians, because in the previous year they had very nearly run the risk of losing their city owing to the attempt on the part of Nothocrates to seize it, now sent envoys to Eumenes, asking for help according to the terms of their alliance. The king, appointing Leon to command a force of

3 τριακοσιους ἐξαπέστειλε κατὰ σπουδήν. ὧν
παραγενομένων οἱ Κυδωνιᾶται τάς τε κλεῖς τῶν
πυλῶν τῷ Λέοντι παρέδωκαν καὶ καθόλου τὴν
πόλιν ἐνεχείρισαν.

16 Ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ τὰ τῆς ἀντιπολιτείας αἰεὶ
(14) 2 μᾶλλον ἐπέτεινεν. προσπεσόντος γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῦ
τῆς συγκλήτου δόγματος, ἐν ᾧ διεσάφει μηκέτι
προσέχειν τοῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐπιτάγμασιν, ἀλλὰ
τοῖς αὐτῆς δόγμασι, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀποδεχο-
3 μένων τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου πρόνοιαν, οἱ περὶ τὸν
Φιλόφρονα καὶ Θεαίδητον ἐπιλαβόμενοι τῆς ἀφ-
ορμῆς ταύτης ἐξειργάζοντο τἀκόλουθα, φάσκοντες
δεῖν ἐκπέμπειν πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον
καὶ τὸν Κόιντον Μάρκιον τὸν ὕπατον καὶ πρὸς
4 Γάιον τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ. τότε γὰρ ἤδη
γνώριμον ἦν ἅπασιν οἵτινες τῶν καθεσταμένων
ἀρχόντων ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παραγίνεσθαι μέλλουσιν
5 εἰς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόπους. κροτη-
θείσης δὲ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, καίπερ ἀντιρρήσεως
γενομένης, ἀπεστάλησαν εἰς μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην
ἀρχομένης θερείας Ἁγησίλοχος Ἁγησίου, Νικ-
6 αγόρας, Νίκανδρος, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ὕπατον καὶ τὸν
ἐπὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ στρατηγὸν Ἁγέπολις, Ἀρί-
7 στων, Πασικράτης, ἐντολὰς ἔχοντες ἀνανεοῦσθαι
τὰ φιλάνθρωπα πρὸς Ῥωμαίους καὶ πρὸς τὰς
διαβολὰς ἀπολογεῖσθαι τὰς λεγομένας ὑπό τινων
8 κατὰ τῆς πόλεως, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἁγησίλοχον
ἅμα τοῖς προειρημένοις καὶ περὶ σιτικῆς ἐξ-
9 αγωγῆς ποιησόμενοι λόγους. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ
τούτων ῥηθέντα πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ τὰς
δοθείσας αὐτοῖς ἀποκρίσεις ὑπὸ τῆς συγκλήτου
καὶ διότι πάντων τῶν φιλανθρώπων τυχόντες

three hundred men, dispatched them at once. Upon their arrival the Cydoniats gave up the keys of the gates to Leon and placed their city entirely in his hands.

Affairs of Rhodes

16. In Rhodes the spirit of faction was growing ever more violent. For when they heard of the senatus-consultum, in which they were instructed to pay no further attention to the orders of Roman generals, but only to the decrees of the senate itself, and when the majority approved of this wise action of the senate, Philophron and Theaedetus seized on this pretext to pursue their policy, saying that envoys should be sent to the senate, to Quintus Marcius Philippus, the consul, and to Gaius Marcius Figulus the commander of the fleet; for by this time it was already known which of the designated magistrates in Rome would be coming to Grecian parts. The proposal was applauded, although there was some opposition; and at the beginning of summer there were sent to Rome three envoys, Hagesilochus the son of Hagesias, Nicagoras, and Nicander, and to the consul and the commander of the fleet three others, Hagepolis, Ariston, and Pasicrates, with instructions to renew kindly relations with Rome and to defend Rhodes from the charges brought by some against her, Hagesilochus and his colleagues being also charged to obtain permission to export corn from other parts. I have already reported in the section dealing with Italian affairs their speech to the senate, and the answer they received from it; and how after the kindest possible

10 ἐπανῆλθον, ἐν τοῖς Ἰταλικοῖς εἴπομεν. περὶ
δὲ τούτου τοῦ μέρους χρήσιμόν ἐστι πλεονάκις
ὑπομιμνήσκειν, ὃ δὴ καὶ πειρώμεθα ποιεῖν, διότι
πολλάκις ἀναγκαζόμεθα τὰς ἐντεύξεις τῶν πρε-
σβειῶν καὶ τοὺς χρηματισμοὺς προτέρους ἐξ-
αγγέλλειν τῆς καταστάσεως καὶ τῆς ἐξαποστολῆς.
11 ἐπεὶ γὰρ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος τὰς καταλλήλους
πράξεις γράφοντες πειρώμεθ' ἐν ἑνὶ καιρῷ συγ-
κεφαλαιοῦσθαι τὰς παρ' ἑκάστοις πράξεις, δῆλον
ὡς ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν τοῦτο συμβαίνειν περὶ τὴν
γραφήν.

17 Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἁγέπολιν ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς τὸν
(15) Κόιντον, καταλαβόντες αὐτὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πρὸς
Ἡράκλειον στρατοπεδεύοντα διελέγοντο περὶ ὧν
2 εἶχον τὰς ἐντολάς. ὁ δὲ διακούσας οὐχ οἷον
αὐτὸς ἔφη προσέχειν ταῖς διαβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ κἀκεί-
νους παρεκάλει μηδενὸς ἀνέχεσθαι τῶν λέγειν τι
τολμώντων κατὰ Ῥωμαίων, καὶ πολλὰ καθόλου τῶν
3 εἰς φιλανθρωπίαν ἡκόντων ἐπεμέτρησεν. ἔγραψε
δὲ ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ῥοδίων.
4 τοῦ δ' Ἁγεπόλιδος ἐψυχαγωγημένου κατὰ τὴν
ὅλην ἀπάντησιν ἰσχυρῶς, λαβὼν αὐτὸν κατ'
ἰδίαν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ὁ Κόιντος θαυμάζειν ἔφη
πῶς οὐ πειρῶνται διαλύειν οἱ Ῥόδιοι τὸν ἐν-
εστῶτα πόλεμον, μάλιστα τοῦ πράγματος ἐκείνοις
5 καθήκοντος. πότερα δὲ τοῦτ' ἐποίει τὸν Ἀν-
τίοχον ὑποπτεύων μή ποτε κρατήσας τῆς Ἀλεξ-
ανδρείας βαρὺς ἔφεδρος αὐτοῖς γένηται, τοῦ
πρὸς τὸν Περσέα πολέμου χρόνον λαμβάνοντος·
6 ἤδη γὰρ τότε συνέβαινε συγκεχύσθαι τὸν περὶ
7 Κοίλης Συρίας πόλεμον· ἢ θεωρῶν ὅσον οὔπω
κριθησόμενα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Περσέα, τῶν Ῥωμαϊ-

reception they returned. As regards this matter it serves some purpose to remind my readers frequently, as indeed I attempt to do, that I am often compelled to report the interviews and proceedings of embassies before announcing the circumstances of their appointment and dispatch. For as, in narrating in their proper order the events of each year, I attempt to comprise under a separate heading the events that happened in each country in that year, it is evident that this must sometimes occur in my work.

17. Hagepolis and his colleagues, on reaching Quintus Marcius, whom they found encamped in Macedonia near Heracleium, addressed him according to their instructions After hearing what they said, he replied that not only did he not pay any attention to such accusations, but he would beg them also not to listen to anybody who ventured to speak against Rome; and in addition to this he used many kind phrases, writing in the same terms to the people of Rhodes. The whole tenour of his reply charmed and touched Hagepolis profoundly; and afterwards Marcius, taking him aside, said he wondered why the Rhodians made no attempt to put an end to the present war between Antiochus and Ptolemy, as it was their business to do so if anyone's. Now it is a question whether he did this because he was apprehensive lest Antiochus should conquer Alexandria, and they should find in him a new and formidable adversary—for the war about Coele-Syria was already in progress—supposing that the war with Perseus lasted long; or whether, seeing that this latter war was on the brink of being decided, as the Roman legions were already encamped in

κῶν στρατοπέδων ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ παραβεβληκότων,
8 καὶ καλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχων ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀποβησομένων
ἐβούλετο τοὺς Ῥοδίους προνύξας μεσίτας ἀπο-
δεῖξαι, καὶ τοῦτο πράξαντας δοῦναι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
ἀφορμὰς εὐλόγους εἰς τὸ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν
ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς φαίνηται, τὸ μὲν ἀκριβὲς οὐ ῥᾴδιον
9 εἰπεῖν, δοκῶ δὲ μᾶλλον τὸ τελευταῖον εἰρημένον,
ἐξ ὧν ἐμαρτύρησε τὰ μετ᾽ ὀλίγον συμβάντα τοῖς
10 Ῥοδίοις. οἵ γε <μὴν> περὶ τὸν Ἀγέπολιν ἐξ
αὐτῆς βαδίσαντες πρὸς τὸν Γάιον καὶ πάντων
τυχόντες τῶν φιλανθρώπων ὑπερβολικώτερον ἢ
παρὰ τῷ Μαρκίῳ ταχέως εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον ἀν-
11 εχώρησαν. γινομένης δὲ τῆς ἀποπρεσβείας, καὶ
τῆς τε διὰ τῶν λόγων φιλανθρωπίας καὶ τῆς διὰ
τῶν <ἀπο>κρίσεων εὐνοίας ἑκατέρων τῶν στρα-
τηγῶν ἐφαμίλλου γενομένης, ὀρθοὶ καὶ μετέωροι
ταῖς διανοίαις ἐγενήθησαν οἱ Ῥόδιοι πάντες, οὐ
12 μὴν ὡσαύτως. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑγιαίνοντες περι-
χαρεῖς ἦσαν ἐπὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων,
οἱ δὲ κινηταὶ καὶ καχέκται συνελογίζοντο παρ᾽
αὑτοῖς σημεῖον εἶναι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς φιλ-
ανθρωπίας τοῦ δεδιέναι τὴν περίστασιν τοὺς Ῥω-
μαίους καὶ μὴ χωρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα κατὰ
13 λόγον. ὅτε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀγέπολιν συνέβη παρα-
φθέγξασθαι πρός τινας <τῶν> φίλων, ὅτι παρὰ
τοῦ Μαρκίου κατ᾽ ἰδίαν ἐντολὰς εἴληφε μνημο-
νεύειν πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαλύειν τὸν
14 πόλεμον, τότε δὴ τελέως οἱ περὶ τὸν Δείνωνα
συνέθεσαν ἐν κακοῖς μεγάλοις εἶναι τοὺς Ῥω-
15 μαίους. ἀπέστειλαν δὲ καὶ πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν
Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τοὺς διαλύσοντας τὸν ἐνεστῶτα
πόλεμον Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ.

Macedonia, and hoping for a favourable issue, he wished to stimulate the Rhodians to try to mediate in the war, and by this action to give the Romans a plausible pretext for treating them in any way they thought fit. It is not easy to say definitely which was his reason, but I am induced to think it was the latter, judging from what soon afterwards happened to Rhodes. But Hagepolis and his colleagues at once proceeded to meet Gaius Marcius, and, having met with a reception even more markedly kind than that given them by Quintus Marcius, hastened to return to Rhodes. When they had delivered an account of their mission, in which it appeared that both the commanders had vied with each other in the kindness of their language and the favourableness of their replies, the expectations of all the Rhodians were raised to a high pitch; of all, I say, but not in the same manner. For those whose views were sound were highly pleased at the kindness of the Romans; but the agitators and malignants reckoned among themselves that this excessive kindness was a sign that the Romans were afraid of the dangers that encompassed them, and that things were not going with them as well as they had expected. And when Hagepolis happened to mention confidentially to some of his friends that he had received private instructions from Marcius to suggest to the Rhodian senate the wisdom of bringing the war (in Syria) to an end, then Deinon and his party definitely concluded that the Romans were in extreme danger. The Rhodians now sent an embassy to Alexandria for the purpose of putting an end to this war between Antiochus and Ptolemy.

IV. Bellum Antiochi IV. cum Ptolemaeo Philometore

18 Ὅτι Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν καὶ πρακτικὸς
(xxvii 17) καὶ μεγαλεπίβολος καὶ τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας προ-
σχήματος ἄξιος, πλὴν τῶν κατὰ τὸ Πηλούσιον
στρατηγημάτων.

19 Ὅτι μετὰ τὸ παραλαβεῖν Ἀντίοχον τὰ κατὰ
(16) τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔδοξε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κομανὸν καὶ
Κινέαν συνεδρεύσασιν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κοινο-
βούλιον καταγράφειν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἡγε-
μόνων τὸ βουλευσόμενον περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων.
2 πρῶτον οὖν ἔδοξε τῷ συνεδρίῳ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς
Ἑλλάδος παρεπιδημήσαντας πέμπειν πρεσβευτὰς
ὡς τὸν Ἀντίοχον κοινολογησομένους ὑπὲρ δια-
3 λύσεως. ἦσαν δὲ τότε παρὰ μὲν τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν
Ἀχαιῶν πρεσβεῖαι διτταί, μία μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν
φιλανθρώπων ἀνανεώσεως, ἣν ἐπρέσβευον Ἀλ-
κίθος Ξενοφῶντος Αἰγιεὺς καὶ Πασιάδας, ἄλλη
4 δὲ περὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἀντιγονείων ἀγῶνος. ἦν δὲ
καὶ παρὰ <τῶν> Ἀθηναίων πρεσβεία περὶ δωρεᾶς,
ἧς ἡγεῖτο Δημάρατος, καὶ θεωρίαι διτταί, μία
μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν Παναθηναίων, ἧς προειστήκει
Καλλίας ὁ παγκρατιαστής, ἡ δ᾽ ἄλλη περὶ μυ-
στηρίων, ὑπὲρ ἧς Κλεόστρατος ἐποιεῖτο τὸν
5 χρηματισμὸν καὶ τοὺς λόγους. ἐκ δὲ Μιλήτου
παρῆσαν Εὔδημος καὶ Ἱκέσιος, ἐκ δὲ Κλαζομενῶν
6 Ἀπολλωνίδης καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος. ἐξαπέστειλε δὲ
καὶ <Πτολεμαῖος> ὁ βασιλεὺς Τληπόλεμον καὶ
7 Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ῥήτορα πρεσβευτάς. οὗτοι μὲν
οὖν ἔπλεον ἀνὰ τὸν ποταμὸν εἰς τὴν ἀπάντησιν.

IV. The War between Antiochus IV. and Ptolemy Philometor

18. King Antiochus was both energetic, daring in design, and worthy of the royal dignity, except as regards his management of the campaign near Pelusium.

19. After Antiochus had partially occupied Egypt Comanus and Cineas sitting in council with King Ptolemy decided to draw up a list of councillors from the most distinguished captains, who should consider the situation. The first decision of this council was to send the Greek envoys then present at Alexandria to Antiochus to negotiate for peace. There were then present two missions from the Achaeans, one consisting of Alcithus of Aegium, son of Xenophon, and Pasiadas, which had come to renew friendly relations, and another on the subject of the games held in honour of Antigonus Doson. There was also an embassy from Athens headed by Demaratus about a present, and there were two sacred missions, one headed by Callias the pancratiast on the subject of the Panathenaean games, and another, the manager and spokesman of which was Cleostratus, about the mysteries. Eudemus and Hicesius had come from Miletus, and Apollonides and Apollonius from Clazomenae. King Ptolemy also sent to represent him Tlepolemus and Ptolemaeus the rhetorician. These all sailed up the river to meet Antiochus.

20 Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρόν, ὅτε Ἀντίοχος τὴν Αἴ-
(17) γυπτον παρέλαβε, συνῆψαν τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλ-
λάδος πρεσβευτῶν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὰς δια-
λύσεις. ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας φιλανθρώ-
πως τὴν μὲν πρώτην ὑποδοχὴν αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο
2 μεγαλομερῆ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἑξῆς ἔδωκεν ἔντευξιν
καὶ λέγειν ἐκέλευσεν περὶ ὧν ἔχουσι τὰς ἐντολάς.
3 πρῶτοι μὲν οὖν οἱ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐποιήσαντο
λόγους, τούτοις δ' ἑξῆς Δημάρατος ὁ παρὰ τῶν
Ἀθηναίων, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Εὔδημος ὁ Μιλήσιος.
4 πάντων δὲ πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν
ὑπόθεσιν διαλεγομένων, παραπλησίους εἶναι συν-
5 έβαινε καὶ τοὺς κατὰ μέρος αὐτῶν λόγους. τὴν
μὲν γὰρ αἰτίαν τῶν συμβεβηκότων πάντες ‹ἀν›-
έφερον ἐπὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐλαῖον, τὴν δὲ συγ-
γένειαν καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου
προφερόμενοι παρῃτοῦντο τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ βασι-
6 λέως. Ἀντίοχος δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις ἀνθομολογη-
σάμενος καὶ προσαυξήσας τὴν ἐκείνων ὑπόθεσιν
ἤρξατο λέγειν [τὴν] ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δικαίων,
δι' ὧν ἐπειρᾶτο συνιστάνειν τῶν ἐν Συρίᾳ βασι-
λέων ὑπάρχουσαν ‹τὴν› κτῆσιν τῶν κατὰ Κοίλην
7 Συρίαν τόπων, ἰσχυροποιῶν μὲν τὰς ἐπικρατείας
τὰς Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ πρώτου κατασχόντος τὴν ἐν
Συρίᾳ βασιλείαν, προφερόμενος δὲ τὰ συγχωρή-
ματα τὰ γενόμενα Σελεύκῳ διὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Μα-
κεδονίας βασιλέων μετὰ τὸν Ἀντιγόνου θάνατον·
8 ἑξῆς δὲ τούτοις ἀπερειδόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν τελευταίαν
κατὰ πόλεμον Ἀντιόχου τοῦ πατρὸς ἔγκτησιν,
9 ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσιν ἐξαρνούμενος τὴν ὁμολογίαν, ἣν
ἔφασαν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν γενέσθαι
Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ νεωστὶ μετηλλαχότι πρὸς Ἀντίοχον

20. At the time when Antiochus occupied Egypt, those of the envoys from Greece who were sent to make peace joined him. Giving them a kind reception he entertained them splendidly on the first occasion of his meeting them, and on the second granted them an audience, and bade them tell him what their instructions were. The first to speak were the envoys from Achaea, the next was Demaratus from Athens, and after him Eudemus of Miletus. As they all spoke in allusion to the same circumstances and on the same subject, the particulars of all the speeches were very similar. They all ascribed the fault for what had happened to Eulaeus, and, pleading Ptolemy's kinship with the king and his youth, attempted to appease the wrath of Antiochus. The king accepted all these pleas, even attaching greater weight to them than they did, but began to speak about his original rights, attempting to convince them that the district of Coele-Syria was the property of the kings of Syria, laying especial stress on the conquests of Antigonus, the first occupant of the throne of Syria, and mentioning the grant made to Seleucus by the kings of Macedonia after the death of Antigonus. Further he rested his case on the occupation of the country by his father Antiochus after a war; and finally denied the existence of the agreement stated by those in Alexandria to have been made between his late father and the Ptolemy

τὸν ἐκείνου πατέρα, <δι>ότι δεῖ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν φερνῇ Κοίλην Συρίαν, ὅτ᾽ ἐλάμβανε Κλεοπάτραν
10 τὴν τοῦ νῦν βασιλεύοντος μητέρα. πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν διαλεχθεὶς καὶ πείσας οὐ μόνον αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀπηντηκότας ὡς δίκαια λέγει, τότε μὲν διέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν Ναύκρατιν.
11 χρησάμενος δὲ καὶ τούτοις φιλανθρώπως καὶ δοὺς ἑκάστῳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν κατοικούντων
12 χρυσοῦν προῆγεν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας. τοῖς δὲ πρεσβευταῖς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ὑπέσχετο δώσειν, ὅταν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀριστείδην καὶ Θῆριν ἀνα-
13 κάμψωσιν ὡς αὐτόν. ἐξαπεσταλκέναι γὰρ ἐκείνους ἔφη πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, βούλεσθαι δὲ πάντων συνίστορας εἶναι καὶ μάρτυρας τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος πρεσβευτάς.

21 Ὅτι Εὐλαῖος ὁ εὐνοῦχος ἔπεισε Πτολεμαῖον
(17a) ἀναλαβόντα τὰ χρήματα, τὴν βασιλείαν προ-
2 ιέμενον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ὑποχωρεῖν εἰς Σαμοθρᾴκην· ἐφ᾽ ἃ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπιστήσας ὁμολογήσειεν ὅτι μέγιστα κακὰ ποιοῦσιν αἱ κακαὶ συντροφίαι τοὺς
3 ἀνθρώπους; τὸ γὰρ μηδ᾽, ἐκτὸς γενόμενον τῶν δεινῶν καὶ τοσοῦτον τόπον ἀποστάντα τῶν ἐχθρῶν, ὁρμῆσαι πρός τι τῶν καθηκόντων, ἄλλως τε καὶ τηλικαύτας ἀφορμὰς ἔχοντα καὶ τοιούτων τόπων κυριεύοντα καὶ τοσούτων πληθῶν, ἀλλ᾽ εὐθέως αὐτόθεν ἀκονιτὶ παραχωρῆσαι βασιλείας τῆς ἐπιφανεστάτης καὶ μακαριωτάτης, πῶς οὐκ ἄν τις εἶναι φήσειε ψυχῆς ἐκτεθηλυμμένης καὶ διεφθαρ-
4 μένης ὁλοσχερῶς; ἣν εἰ μὲν συνέβαινε φύσει περὶ Πτολεμαῖον ὑπάρχειν, τὴν φύσιν ἔδει καταμέμψασθαι καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρειν·
5 ἐπειδὴ δὲ διὰ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα πράξεων ἡ φύσις

recently deceased, by which the latter should receive Coele-Syria as a dowry when he married Cleopatra, the mother of the present king. After speaking in this sense, and convincing not only himself but his auditors that he was right, he crossed to Naucratis. After showing kindness to the people there, and making a present of a gold stater to each of the Greek residents, he advanced towards Alexandria. He promised to reply to the envoys when Aristeides and Theris had returned to him. He said he had dispatched them to Ptolemy, and he wished the envoys from Greece to be cognisant and witnesses of everything.

21. Eulaeus the eunuch persuaded Ptolemy to take all his money with him, abandon his kingdom to the enemy, and retire to Samothrace. Who, reflecting on this, would not acknowledge that evil company does the greatest possible harm to men? For a prince, standing in no immediate danger and so far removed from his enemies, not to take any steps to fulfil his duty, especially as he commanded such resources, and ruled over so great a country and so vast a population, but to yield up at once without a single effort such a splendid and prosperous kingdom, can only be described as the act of one whose mind is effeminate and utterly corrupted. Had Ptolemy been such a man by nature, we should have put the blame on nature and not accused anyone but himself. But since by his subsequent

ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀπελογήθη, δείξασα τὸν Πτολεμαῖον
καὶ στάσιμον ἱκανῶς καὶ γενναῖον ἐν τοῖς κιν-
δύνοις ὑπάρχοντα, δῆλον ὡς εἰκότως ἄν τις τῆς
τότε περὶ αὐτὸν γενομένης ἀγεννίας καὶ τῆς ὁρμῆς
τῆς εἰς τὴν Σαμοθρᾴκην τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τὸν σπά-
δωνα καὶ τὴν τούτου συντροφίαν ἀναφέροι.

22 Ὅτι Ἀντίοχος μετὰ τὸ καταλιπεῖν Ἀλεξ-
(18) άνδρειαν πολιορκεῖν πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην
2 ἐξέπεμπεν· οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν Μελέαγρος, Σωσιφάνης,
3 Ἡρακλείδης· συνθεὶς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα τά-
λαντα, πεντήκοντα μὲν στέφανον Ῥωμαίοις, τὰ
δὲ λοιπὰ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς δωρεάν τισιν τῶν
κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεων.

23 Ὅτι κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας κατέπλευσαν ἐκ
(19) Ῥόδου πρέσβεις εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπὶ τὰς
διαλύσεις οἱ περὶ Πράξωνα καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ
παρῆσαν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν πρὸς Ἀντίοχον.
2 γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἐντεύξεως, πολλοὺς διετίθεντο
λόγους, τήν τε τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος εὔνοιαν προ-
φερόμενοι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας τὰς βασιλείας καὶ
τὴν αὐτῶν τῶν βασιλέων ἀναγκαιότητα πρὸς
ἀλλήλους καὶ τὸ συμφέρον ἑκατέροις ἐκ τῆς δια-
3 λύσεως. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔτι λέγοντα τὸν πρε-
σβευτὴν ἐπιτεμὼν οὐκ ἔφη προσδεῖσθαι πολλῶν
4 λόγων. τὴν μὲν γὰρ βασιλείαν εἶναι Πτολε-
μαίου τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον καὶ δια-
λελύσθαι πάλαι καὶ φίλους ὑπάρχειν, καὶ νῦν
βουλομένων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει κατάγειν τοῦτον
5 μὴ κωλύειν Ἀντίοχον. καὶ δὴ πεποίηκεν.

actions, Nature defended herself by showing Ptolemy to have been a man who was fairly steadfast and brave when in danger, it is evident that we should attribute to the eunuch and association with him his cowardice on this occasion and his haste to retire to Samothrace.

22. Antiochus, after abandoning the siege of Alexandria, sent envoys to Rome. Their names were Meleager, Sosiphanes, and Heraclides. He had collected a hundred and fifty talents, fifty for a present to the Romans and the rest for gifts to some of the Greek cities.

23. During these days Praxon and others arrived at Alexandria from Rhodes, charged to attempt to make peace, and soon after proceeded to the camp of Antiochus. At his audience he spoke at length, alleging the friendly feeling of his own country to both the kingdoms, the family ties which united both kings and the interest that both had in coming to terms. The king interrupted the envoy in his speech, telling him that there was no need of many words; for the kingdom belonged to the elder Ptolemy, with whom he had long ago come to terms, and who was his friend. And, as the Alexandrians now wished to recall him, Antiochus would not prevent it. And in fact he acted so.

FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXIX

I. Res Italiae

1 Ἔφη γὰρ αὐτοὺς μίαν ἔχειν διατριβὴν καὶ παρὰ
(1a) τὰς συνουσίας καὶ παρὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις
ὁμιλίας διοικεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ καθημένους
τὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πόλεμον, ποτὲ μὲν ἐπιτιμῶντας
τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν πραττομένοις, ποτὲ δὲ
2 τὰ παραλειπόμενα διεξιόντας· ἐξ ὧν ὄνησιν μὲν
οὐδέποτε γίνεσθαι τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασι, βλάβην
δὲ πολλάκις καὶ ἐπὶ πολλῶν γεγονέναι· καὶ ποτὲ
δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας μεγάλα βλάπτεσθαι διὰ τὰς
3 ἀκαίρους εὑρησιλογίας· πάσης γὰρ διαβολῆς ἐχού-
σης ὀξύ τι καὶ κινητικόν, ὅταν προκαταληφθῇ τὸ
πλῆθος ἐκ τῆς συνεχοῦς λαλιᾶς, εὐκαταφρονήτους
γίνεσθαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς.

2 Ὅτι ἡ σύγκλητος πυνθανομένη τὸν Ἀντίοχον
(1) τῆς μὲν Αἰγύπτου κύριον γεγονέναι, τῆς δ' Ἀλεξ-
2 ανδρείας παρ' ὀλίγον, νομίζουσα πρὸς αὑτήν τι
διατείνειν τὴν αὔξησιν τοῦ προειρημένου βα-
σιλέως, κατέστησε πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς περὶ Γάιον

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXIX

I. Affairs of Italy

Speech of Aemilius Paullus

(Cp. Livy xliv. 22. 8.)

1. For Aemilius said that the sole occupation of 169–168 B.C. some people, whether at social gatherings or in their conversation when walking, was to sit quietly at Rome while they directed the war in Macedonia, sometimes finding fault with what the commanders did and at others dilating on all they had left undone, all which was never of any benefit to the public interest, but had frequently and in many respects been most injurious to it. And the commanders too are at times much injured by inopportune prating. For as all slander has something sharp and provocative in it, when the minds of the people become prejudiced against them owing to this constant chatter, our enemies come to despise them.

Dispatch of Legates to Antiochus by the Senate

2. The senate, when they heard that Antiochus had become master of Egypt and very nearly of Alexandria itself, thinking that the aggrandizement of this king concerned them in a measure, dispatched

3 Ποπίλιον, τόν τε πόλεμον λύσοντας καὶ καθόλου
θεασομένους τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων διάθεσιν ποία
4 τις ἐστίν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν
τούτοις ἦν.

II. Bellum Persicum

3 Ὅτι παραγενομένων πρὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος τῶν
(2) περὶ τὸν Ἱππίαν, οὓς ἀπεστάλκει πρεσβευτὰς ὁ
2 Περσεὺς πρὸς Γένθιον ὑπὲρ τῆς συμμαχίας, καὶ
διασαφούντων ὅτι πρόθυμος ὁ βασιλεύς ἐστιν
ἀναδέχεσθαι τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον, ἐὰν
αὐτῷ δοθῇ τριακόσια τάλαντα καὶ πίστεις αἱ
3 προσήκουσαι περὶ τῶν ὅλων, πυθόμενος ταῦτα
καὶ κρίνων ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι τὴν Γενθίου κοινο-
πραγίαν προεχειρίσατο Πάνταυχον, ἕνα τῶν πρώ-
των φίλων, καὶ τοῦτον ἐξαπέστειλε, δοὺς ἐντολὰς
4 πρῶτον μὲν ὁμολογήσαντα περὶ τῶν χρημάτων
ὅρκους καὶ δοῦναι καὶ λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς συμμα-
χίας, εἶτα τοὺς ὁμήρους ἐξ αὐτῆς κἀκεῖνον πέμ-
πειν, οὓς ἂν δοκῇ Πανταύχῳ, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ
λαμβάνειν οὓς ἂν ἀποφήνῃ Γένθιος διὰ τῶν ἐγ-
γράπτων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διατάξασθαι περὶ τῆς
5 κομιδῆς τῶν τριακοσίων ταλάντων. ὁ δὲ Πάν-
ταυχος ἐξ αὐτῆς ποιησάμενος τὴν ὁρμὴν καὶ
παραγενόμενος εἰς Μετέωνα τῆς Λαβεάτιδος κἀν-
ταῦθα συμμίξας τῷ Γενθίῳ ταχέως παρεστήσα-
το τὸν νεανίσκον πρὸς τὸ κοινωνεῖν τῷ Περσεῖ
6 τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων. τμηθέντων δὲ τῶν ὁρκίων
ὑπὲρ τῆς συμμαχίας καὶ καταγραφέντων, εὐθέως
ὁ Γένθιος ἅμα τοὺς ὁμήρους ἔπεμπε τοὺς ὑπὸ
τοῦ Πανταύχου καταγραφέντας καὶ σὺν τούτοις
Ὀλυμπίωνα παραληψόμενον τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τοὺς

Gaius Popilius as their legate to bring the war to an end, and to observe what the exact position of affairs was. Such was the situation in Italy.

II. The War with Perseus

Genthius joins Perseus

(Cp. Livy xliv. 23.)

3. On the return before winter of Hippias, who had been sent by Perseus to Genthius to treat for an alliance, and on his reporting that that prince was ready to enter upon war with Rome if he received three hundred talents and proper sureties all round, Perseus, on hearing this, in the belief that the co-operation of Genthius was an urgent necessity, appointed Pantauchus, one of his "first friends," his envoy, and dispatched him with instructions to consent in the first place to give the money, and then to exchange oaths of alliance. In the next place Genthius was to send at once such hostages as Pantauchus chose, while he was to receive from Perseus such hostages as he should name in writing. Finally Pantauchus was to make arrangements for the conveyance of the three hundred talents. The envoy started at once, and, on arriving at Meteon in Labeatis where he met Genthius, very soon induced the young man to throw in his fortunes with Perseus. After the oaths of alliance had been taken and the terms put in writing, Genthius at once sent off the hostages of whom Pantauchus gave him a list, and in company with them Olympion to receive

ὁμήρους παρὰ τοῦ Περσέως, ἑτέρους δὲ τοὺς
7 περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἕξοντας τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν. σὺν
δὲ τοῖς προειρημένοις ἔπεισεν ὁ Πάνταυχος τὸν
Γένθιον καὶ πρεσβευτὰς συνεξαποστέλλειν, οἵτινες
ἅμα τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Περσέως πεμπομένοις εἰς
τὴν Ῥόδον πρεσβεύσουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς συμ-
8 μαχίας. τούτου <γὰρ> γενομένου, καὶ συνεμβάν-
των τῶν Ῥοδίων εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, τελέως εὐκατ-
αγωνίστους ἐσομένους ἀπέφαινε τοὺς Ῥωμαίους.
9 ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς τοῖς παρακαλουμένοις καὶ προ-
χειρισάμενος Παρμενίωνα καὶ Μόρκον ἐξαπέστειλε,
δοὺς ἐντολάς, ὅταν λάβωσιν τοὺς ὅρκους παρὰ
τοῦ Περσέως καὶ τοὺς ὁμήρους, καὶ περὶ τῶν
χρημάτων γένηται σύμφωνον, πρεσβεύειν εἰς τὴν
Ῥόδον.

4 Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν πάντες προῆγον εἰς τὴν Μακε-
(3) δονίαν· ὁ δὲ Πάνταυχος μένων παρὰ πλευρὰν
ὑπεμίμνησκεν καὶ παρώξυνε τὸν νεανίσκον πρὸς
τὸ μὴ καθυστερεῖν ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ἀλλ' ἕτοι-
μον ὄντα προκαταλαμβάνειν καὶ τόπους καὶ
πόλεις καὶ συμμάχους· μάλιστα δ' αὐτὸν ἠξίου
παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν μά-
2 χην· τῶν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων εἰς τέλος ἀπαρασκεύων
ὄντων πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος κατά τε τοὺς περὶ
τὴν Ἤπειρον καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα τόπους,
ἀκονιτὶ πᾶν τὸ προτεθὲν ἐπιτελεσθήσεσθαι δι'
3 αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμπομένων. ὁ μὲν
οὖν Γένθιος τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἀναπειθόμενος
ἐγίνετο περί τε τὰς κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν
4 παρασκευάς. ὁ δὲ Περσεύς, παραγενομένων εἰς
τὴν Μακεδονίαν τῶν πρεσβευτῶν παρὰ τοῦ Γεν-
θίου καὶ τῶν ὁμηρευόντων, ὁρμήσας ἀπὸ τῆς

the oath and the hostages from Perseus, sending at the same time others to take charge of the money. In addition to what I have stated, Pantauchus persuaded Genthius to send back with him envoys of his own who should join the mission that Perseus was sending to Rhodes to secure the alliance of that state with both of them. For if this was done and the Rhodians too embarked on the war, he assured him that it would be quite easy to overcome the Romans. Genthius was persuaded to act as requested, and, naming Parmenion and Morcus his envoys, dispatched them, instructing them, as soon as Perseus had taken the oath, and an agreement was come to about the money, to proceed to Rhodes.

4. All these persons now went on their way to Macedonia, while Pantauchus remaining behind beside the young man kept on reminding him and urging him not to be behindhand in his preparations, but to get all ready, and secure in due time places, towns, and allies. He particularly requested him to prepare for war by sea, since, the Romans being quite unprepared in this respect on the coasts of Epirus and Illyria, he would with very little trouble in person and through his officers be able to carry out any maritime project he wished. Genthius, then, convinced by those arguments, was occupied in preparing himself by land and sea. Perseus, on the arrival in Macedonia of the envoys Genthius and the hostages,

περὶ τὸν Ἐλπειὸν ποταμὸν παρεμβολῆς μετὰ
πάντων τῶν ἱππέων ἀπήντα τοῖς προειρημένοις
5 εἰς τὸ Δῖον, καὶ συμμίξας πρῶτον μὲν ἀπέδωκε
τοὺς ὅρκους ὑπὲρ τῆς συμμαχίας ἐναντίον πάντων
‹τῶν› ἱππέων· πάνυ γὰρ ἐβούλετο σαφῶς εἰδέναι
τοὺς Μακεδόνας τὴν τοῦ Γενθίου κοινοπραγίαν,
ἐλπίζων εὐθαρσεστέρους αὐτοὺς ὑπάρξειν, προσ-
6 γενομένης ταύτης τῆς ῥοπῆς. ἔπειτα δὲ τοὺς
ὁμήρους παρελάμβανε καὶ παρεδίδου τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ
τοῖς περὶ Ὀλυμπίωνα. ὧν ἦσαν ἐπιφανέστατοι
Λιμναῖος ὁ Πολεμοκράτους καὶ Βάλακρος ὁ
7 Πανταύχου. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ
χρήματα παρόντας εἰς Πέλλαν ἐξέπεμπεν, ὡς
ἐκεῖ παραληψομένους, τοὺς δὲ πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς
εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον εἰς Θετταλονίκην πρὸς Μητρό-
δωρον, συντάξας ἑτοίμους εἶναι πρὸς τὸν πλοῦν.
ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ῥοδίους συ‹νε›μβαίνειν εἰς
8 τὸν πόλεμον. ταῦτα δὲ διοικήσας Ἡροφῶντα
μὲν ἐξέπεμψε πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένη, καὶ
πρότερον ἤδη ἀπεσταλμένον, Τηλέμναστον δὲ
9 τὸν Κρῆτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον, μὴ παρορᾶν τὸν
καιρὸν μηδ' ὑπολαμβάνειν πρὸς αὐτὸν μόνον
ἀνήκειν τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν καὶ τὴν βαρύτητα τῶν
10 Ῥωμαίων, σαφῶς δὲ γινώσκειν ὡς ἐὰν μὴ καὶ
νῦν αὐτὸς συνεπιλαμβάνηται, μάλιστα μὲν δια-
λύων τὸν πόλεμον, εἰ δὲ μή, βοηθῶν, ταχέως
πεῖραν λήψεται τῆς αὐτῆς ἑαυτῷ τύχης.

5 Ὑπὲρ ὧν ἔγωγε διηπόρηκα τί δεῖ ποιεῖν· τό
(1b) τε γὰρ γράφειν κατὰ μέρος ὑπὲρ τοιούτων ἀκρι-
βολογούμενον ἃ δι' ἀπορρήτων πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἱ
βασιλεῖς ἔπραττον εὐεπίληπτον ἐφαίνετο καὶ τε-
2 λέως ἐπισφαλές, τό τε παρασιωπῆσαι πάλιν

starting from his camp near the river Elpeius with all his cavalry, went to meet them all at Dium and on doing so took the oath of alliance in the presence of all the cavalry; for he particularly wished that the Macedonians should be aware of the co-operation of Genthius, thinking that the addition of this force to the scale would increase their confidence. He next received the hostages, and handed over his own to Olympion. The most distinguished of these latter were Limnaeus the son of Polemocrates and Balacrus the son of Pantauchus. Perseus next sent those who had come to get the money to Pella where they would receive it, and the envoys for Rhodes he sent to Thessalonica to meet Metrodorus, ordering them to be in readiness to embark. He succeeded in inducing the Rhodians to join in the war. After accomplishing this he sent as his envoy to Eumenes Herophon, who had already served in that capacity, and Telemnastus the Cretan to Antiochus, urging him not to neglect this opportunity, nor think that the arrogance and oppression of the Romans were confined to himself, but to recognize clearly that if he did not at present also come to his assistance, either, as was best, by putting an end to the war, or, if not, by helping him in it, he would soon experience the same fate.

Intrigues of Perseus and Eumenes

(Cp. Livy xliv. 24. 9.)

5. About this I was quite at a loss what to do. For to write in detail and with precision about matters which the kings managed between themselves and secretly, seemed to me to be open to criticism and exceedingly hazardous; but to pass over in complete

ὁλοσχερῶς τὸ δοκοῦν πραγματικώτατον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τούτῳ γεγονέναι, καὶ δι᾿ οὗ πολλὰ τῶν ὕστερον ἀπορουμένων γνωρίμους ἔσχε τὰς αἰτίας, τελέως τινὸς ἀργίας ἐδόκει μοι σημεῖον εἶναι
3 καὶ τῆς πάσης ἀτολμίας· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ κατηνέχθην ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν κεφαλαιωδῶς τὸ δοκοῦν, καὶ δι᾿ ὧν εἰκότων καὶ σημείων ἐπὶ ταύτης ἐγενόμην τῆς γνώμης, ὑπάρχων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς καὶ μᾶλλον ἑτέρων ἐκπληττόμενος ἕκαστα τῶν γενομένων.

6 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν Κύδας ὁ Κρὴς στρατευόμενος
(1c) παρ᾿ Εὐμένει καὶ τιμώμενος ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα, πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς Ἀμφίπολιν παραγενόμενος Χειμάρῳ, τινὶ τῶν σὺν Περσεῖ στρατευομένων <Κρητῶν>, καὶ πάλιν πρὸς Δημητριάδι συνεγγίσας τῷ τείχει . . . ἐκοινολογεῖτο τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Μενεκράτει, τὸ δὲ δεύτερον Ἀντιμάχῳ, . . .
2 εἴρηται· καὶ μὴν ὅτι δὶς Ἡροφῶν . . . ἐπρέσβευσε πρὸς Εὐμένη παρὰ Περσέως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ῥωμαίων οἱ πλείους ὑποψίαν ἔσχον <οὐκ> ἀπίθανον περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Εὐμένους, δῆλον ἐκ
3 τῶν περὶ Ἄτταλον συμβάντων· τῷ μὲν γὰρ συνεχώρησαν καὶ παραγενέσθαι πρὸς σφᾶς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου καὶ χρηματίσαι περὶ ὧν προῃρεῖτο, καὶ τέλος ἀποκρίσεις δόντες αὐτῷ φιλανθρώπους ἀπέστειλαν <οὐδὲν οὔτε> πρότερον οὔτε κατὰ τὸν <πρὸς> Περσέα πόλεμον
4 ἀξιόλογον αὐτοῖς συνηργηκότα· <τὸν> Εὐμένη δὲ τὰς μεγίστας χρείας σφίσι παρεσχημένον καὶ πλεῖστα συνηργηκότ᾿ ἔν τε τοῖς πρὸς Ἀντίοχον καὶ κατὰ τὸν <πρὸς> Περσέα πόλεμον οὐ μόνον τῆς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναβάσεως ἐκώλυσαν, ἀλλὰ

silence matters which seem to have had more practical effect than any others in the war, matters which enable us to detect the causes of much that was afterwards difficult to explain, appeared to me to be decidedly indicative of indolence and entire lack of enterprise. However, I persuaded myself to state in a summary fashion my own opinion and the indications and probabilities which led me to form this opinion, living as I did at the time and having been more impressed by everything that happened than anyone else.

6. I have already stated that Cydas the Cretan, who was serving under Eumenes and held in especial honour by him, first of all came to Amphipolis and communicated with Cheimarus a Cretan soldier in the service of Perseus, and on a second occasion at Demetrias actually came up to the wall, and held converse first with Menecrates and afterwards with Antimachus. And again that Herophon was twice sent by Perseus on a mission to Eumenes, and that in consequence of this, most of the Romans had a not unfounded suspicion of King Eumenes, is clear from their treatment of Attalus. For they allowed the latter to come to Rome from Brundisium and address the senate on any subject he chose, and at last sent him back after replying courteously to him, although he had not given any great assistance either previously or in the war with Perseus; but as for Eumenes, who had been of the greatest service to them and given them the greatest assistance in their wars against Antiochus and Perseus, they not only prevented him from coming up to Rome, but ordered

καὶ προσέταξαν μέσου χειμῶνος ὄντος ἐν ἡμέραις
5 τακταῖς ἐκχωρεῖν ἐξ Ἰταλίας. ἐξ ὧν ὅτι μὲν
γέγονέ τις ἐπιπλοκὴ τῷ Περσεῖ πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένη,
δι' ἣν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἠλλοτριώθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν
6 Ῥωμαῖοι, προφανὲς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων· τίς δ'
αὕτη καὶ μέχρι τίνος προύβη πάρεστι σκοπεῖν.
7 ὅτι μὲν οὖν Εὐμένης οὐκ ἂν ἠβουλήθη Περσέα
(1d) κρατῆσαι τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ γενέσθαι κύριον τῶν
2 ὅλων, εὐχερὲς καταμαθεῖν· χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς πα-
τρικῆς ἀλλοτριότητος καὶ δυσμενείας, ἣν εἶχον
πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὁμογενὲς ἱκανὸν
ἦν ἀπιστίαν καὶ ζηλοτυπίαν καὶ καθόλου τὴν
μεγίστην ἀλλοτριότητα παρασκευάζειν ἐν αὐτοῖς·
3 λοιπὸν ἦν ἐξαπατᾶν καὶ στρατηγεῖν ἀλλήλους
4 δι' ἀπορρήτων· ὅπερ ἐποίουν ἀμφότεροι. θεωρῶν
<γὰρ> Εὐμένης δυσπαθοῦντα καὶ συγκλειόμενον
τὸν Περσέα πανταχόθεν καὶ πᾶν τὸ <παραγγελ-
λόμενον> ἐπιδεχόμενον χάριν τοῦ τὸν πόλεμον
διαλύσασθαι καὶ διαπεμπόμενον ὑπὲρ τούτων πρὸς
5 τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος, τοὺς δὲ
Ῥωμαίους ὡσαύτως δυσχρηστουμένους τοῖς ὅλοις
διά τε τὸ μηδὲν προκόπτειν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ μέχρι
τῆς Παύλου στρατηγίας καὶ διὰ τὸ τοὺς κατὰ
6 τὴν Αἰτωλίαν μετεώρους ὑπάρχειν, ὑπέλαβεν οὐκ
ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὸ συγκαταβῆναι Ῥωμαίους εἰς
7 ἐξαγωγὴν τοῦ πολέμου καὶ διάλυσιν· πρὸς δὲ
τὸ μεσιτεῦσαι ταῦτα καὶ συναγαγεῖν ἐνόμισεν
8 αὑτὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον εἶναι. ταῦτα δὲ συλλο-
γισάμενος ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ κατεπείραζε τοῦ Περσέως
διὰ Κύδα τοῦ Κρητὸς τῷ πρότερον ἔτει πόσου
8 βούλοιτ' ἂν ὠνήσασθαι τὴν ἐλπίδα ταύτην. ἡ
(1e) μὲν οὖν καταρχὴ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπιπλοκῆς

him, though it was the middle of winter, to leave Italy in a given number of days. From all this it is obvious that there had been some approaches made to Eumenes by Perseus, which caused this marked estrangement on the part of the Romans. As to what these were and how far they went it is open for us to inquire. 7. It is quite easy to see that Eumenes would not have wished Perseus to win the war and become absolute master of Greece. For, apart from their inherited dislike and hostility, the fact that they ruled over subjects of the same nation was sufficient to create between them distrust and jealousy and in general the strongest antipathy. The only object they could have had, then, was to deceive and trick each other by secret intrigues, and this is what they both were doing. For as he saw that Perseus was in an evil case, hemmed in on all sides, and ready to accept any terms in order to get peace, each year sending messages to the Roman commanders for this purpose; as the Romans likewise were in extreme difficulties, having up to the campaign of Aemilius Paullus made no progress in the war; and as the Aetolians were in a state of unrest: Eumenes thought it was by no means impossible that the Romans would consent to bring the war to a conclusion and make peace; and he considered that he himself was the person best fitted to mediate in the matter and reconcile the two adversaries. Making these reflections to himself he had in the previous year sounded Perseus through Cydas the Cretan as to how much he was willing to pay for the hope of his services. **8.** This, I think, was the beginning of their overtures

2 δοκεῖ μοι διὰ ταῦτα γεγονέναι· δυεῖν δὲ συγ-
κρινομένων, τοῦ μὲν πανουργοτάτου δοκοῦντος
εἶναι, τοῦ δὲ φιλαργυρωτάτου, γελοίαν συνέβαινε
3 γίνεσθαι τὴν διαμάχην αὐτῶν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Εὐμένης
πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα προύτεινε καὶ πᾶν γένος δελέατος
ὑπερρίπτει, πεπεισμένος θηρεύσειν τὸν Περσέα
4 ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις· ὁ δὲ Περσεὺς μακρόθεν ὥρμα
πρὸς τὰ προτεινόμενα καὶ συνετίθετο, καταπιεῖν
δὲ τῶν λεγομένων οὐδὲν οἷός τ' ἦν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον
5 ὥστε καὶ προέσθαι τι τῶν αὑτοῦ. τὸ δὲ γένος
τῶν παλαισμάτων ἦν τοιοῦτον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ
Εὐμένης ᾔτει τοῦ μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν κατὰ τὸ
τέταρτον ἔτος καὶ μὴ συστρατεῦσαι Ῥωμαίοις
μήτε κατὰ γῆν μήτε κατὰ θάλατταν πεντακόσια
τάλαντα, τοῦ δὲ διαλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον χίλια πεντα-
κόσια, καὶ τούτων ὁμήρους δώσειν κατὰ τάχος
6 ὑπισχνεῖτο καὶ πίστεις. ὁ δὲ Περσεὺς ἐδέχετο
μὲν περὶ τῶν ὁμήρων καὶ πόσα καὶ πότε πέμπε-
σθαι καὶ πῶς δεήσει ταῦτα τηρεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῖς
7 Κνωσίοις· περὶ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν
πεντακοσίων ταλάντων αἰσχρὸν ἔφησεν εἶναι καὶ
τῷ διδόντι καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι τῷ λαμβάνοντι τὸ
δοκεῖν μισθοῦ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ χίλια καὶ
πεντακόσια πέμψειν φέροντας ἔφη τοὺς περὶ
Πολεμοκράτην εἰς Σαμοθρᾴκην κἀκεῖ μεσιτεύ-
8 σειν. τῆς δὲ Σαμοθρᾴκης αὐτὸς ἦν κύριος· ὁ
δ' Εὐμένης σπουδάζων, καθάπερ οἱ μοχθηροὶ
τῶν ἰατρῶν, περὶ τὸ πρόδομα μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ
τὸν μισθὸν τέλος ἀπέστη τῆς ἐπιβολῆς, ἀδυνα-
τήσας καταγωνίσασθαι τῇ σφετέρᾳ πανουργίᾳ
9 τὴν τοῦ Περσέως μικρολογίαν. καὶ δὴ τῷ
τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ ποιήσαντες ἱερὸν τὸν στέφανον

to each other; and as it was a match between two princes, one of whom had the reputation of being most unprincipled and the other most avaricious, the contest proved very ridiculous. For Eumenes on the one hand was holding out all kinds of hopes to Perseus and tempting him with every variety of bait, feeling sure he would catch him by his promises; while Perseus from a distance pretended to rush at these offers and to be coming to an agreement, but could never persuade himself to swallow any of the baits to the extent of making a sacrifice of money. The kind of tussle between the two was as follows. Eumenes asked five hundred talents for keeping quiet in the fourth year of the war and not supporting the Romans either by sea or by land, and fifteen hundred talents for putting an end to the war. For either of the two he promised to give at once hostages and security. Perseus was ready to receive the hostages, and arranged how many they should be, when they should be sent and how they were to be kept in charge by the people of Cnosus. As for the money, he said regarding the five hundred talents that it was disgraceful for the giver and still more so for the receiver to be thought to be hired to keep neutral; but he said he would send Polemocrates to Samothrace with the fifteen hundred talents and then mediate there, Samothrace being part of his own dominions. But Eumenes who, like bad physicians, was more concerned about his retaining fee than about his final fee, renounced his efforts, having found it beyond his power to get the better by his own cunning of the meanness of Perseus; and so, neither of them winning the prize for avarice, they

τῆς φιλαργυρίας διελύθησαν ἐπ' ἴσης, καθάπερ
10 ἀγαθοὶ παλαισταί. τούτων δ' ἔνια μὲν <ἐξ>ερ-
ρύη παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρόν, ἔνια δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον
εἰς τοὺς παρακειμένους τῷ Περσεῖ φίλους, παρ'
ὧν ἡμῖν ἐξεποίησε πυθέσθαι διότι πάσης κακίας
ὡσανεὶ παπταλεῖόν ἐστιν ἡ φιλαργυρία.
9 Προστίθημι δ' ἔτι παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ τοσοῦτον, μὴ
(1f) καὶ μωροποιεῖσθαι συμβαίνει τὴν φιλαργυρίαν.
2 τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἐπισημήναιτο τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἀμφο-
τέρων τῶν βασιλέων, Εὐμένους μέν, κατὰ τίνα
λόγον ἤλπισε τηλικαύτης ἀλλοτριότητος ὑπαρχού-
σης πιστευθήσεσθαι καὶ προσλήψεσθαι τοσοῦτο
πλῆθος χρημάτων, μηδεμίαν δυνάμενος ἱκανὴν
πίστιν παρασχέσθαι τῷ Περσεῖ τῆς κομιδῆς
3 τούτων, ἐὰν μὴ βεβαιοῖ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις; πῶς
δὲ λαβὼν τοσοῦτο πλῆθος χρημάτων ὑπέλαβε
4 λήσειν Ῥωμαίους; εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὸ παρόν,
5 οὐκ ἂν ἔν γε τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνῳ διέλαθε. λοι-
πὸν ἔδει πάντως ἀντὶ τῶν διδομένων χρημάτων
ἀλλάξασθαι τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους διαφοράν, δι'
ἣν ἔμελλε καὶ τῶν ληφθέντων χρημάτων ἅμα καὶ
τῆς ἀρχῆς, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦ βίου στερήσεσθαι,
6 πολέμιος φανεὶς Ῥωμαίοις. εἰ γὰρ καὶ νῦν
μηδὲν πράξας, ἐπινοήσας δὲ μόνον εἰς τοὺς με-
γίστους ἦλθε κινδύνους, τί ποτε παθεῖν αὐτῷ
προσῆκεν ἐπὶ τέλος ἀχθείσης τῆς προειρημένης
7 πράξεως; τοῦ δὲ Περσέως πάλιν τίς οὐκ ἂν
θαυμάσειε πῶς ἄλλο τι συμφορώτερον ἢ προυρ-
γιαίτερον ἐνόμισε τοῦ δοῦναι τὰ χρήματα καὶ
8 καταπιεῖν ἐᾶσαι <τὸν> Εὐμένη τὸ δέλεαρ; εἰ
μὲν γὰρ συνήργησέ τι τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας
9 καὶ διέλυσε τὸν πόλεμον, εἰς καλὸν ἡ δόσις. εἰ

made a drawn match of it like two good wrestlers. Some of these facts leaked out at the time and others shortly afterwards to the intimate friends of Perseus, from whom I learnt enough to convince me that avarice is, as it were, the tuning-peg of every vice.

9. I ask myself further on my own part: Does not avarice make fools of us? For who can help observing the folly of both kings? How could Eumenes expect, in view of the extremely distant terms they were on, to be trusted and to receive such a large sum of money, unable as he was to give Perseus any proper security for its return if he failed to fulfil his promises? And how did he think he could receive such a sum without the Romans finding it out? For if not at once, they would have done so later. So that, in return for the money given him, he was sure to have to reckon on a quarrel with Rome, which would result in the loss not only of the money he had received but of his kingdom and perhaps his life, once he was the declared enemy of Rome. For if now, when he had not done anything but merely had thought of it, he incurred such extreme danger, what was the treatment he would have deserved had he succeeded in carrying out the foregoing design! As to Perseus again, every one must wonder why he did not think it the most advantageous thing for himself and most in his interest to give the money and let Eumenes swallow the bait. For if Eumenes had helped him as he promised, and put an end to the war, the gift would have been worth his while; but if he

δὲ ταύτης διεψεύσθη τῆς ἐλπίδος, εἴς γε τὴν πρὸς
Ῥωμαίους ἔχθραν ὁμολογουμένως ἂν αὐτὸν ἐμ-
βεβλήκει· τοῦ γὰρ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἐνεγκεῖν ταῦτα
10 κύριος ὑπῆρχεν αὐτός. πόσου δὲ τοῦτ' ἄξιον
Περσεῖ καὶ κατορθοῦντι τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ πταίοντι,
11 ῥᾴδιον συλλογίσασθαι· πάντων γὰρ τῶν συμ-
βάντων κακῶν αἴτιον ἐνόμιζεν Εὐμένη γεγονέναι,
ὃν οὐκ ἂν ἠδυνήθη κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον ἀμύνασθαι
12 βέλτιον ἢ πολέμιον ποιήσας Ῥωμαίοις. τίς οὖν
αἰτία τῆς οὕτως ἐκφανοῦς ἀλογιστίας; φιλ-
αργυρία· τί γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο τις εἴπειεν; ὁ μὲν γὰρ
χάριν τοῦ λαβεῖν τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα πάντα παρ-
εώρα τἄλλα καὶ πάντ' ἀνεδέχετο ποιήσειν, ὁ δὲ
τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι πάντα παθεῖν καὶ πᾶν ὑπεριδεῖν
13 ὑπέμενεν. ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτοις Περσεὺς καὶ
τὰ πρὸς Γαλάτας καὶ τὰ πρὸς Γένθιον . . .

10 Ὅτι προτεθείσης χειροτονίας τοῖς Ῥοδίοις,
(4) ἐνίκων οἷς ἤρεσκε πέμπειν τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ὑπὲρ
2 τῶν διαλύσεων. καὶ τὴν μὲν Ῥοδίων ἀντι-
πολιτείαν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον [ὡς ἐν τῷ περὶ
3 δημηγορίας τέθειται] διέκρινε τὸ διαβούλιον, ἐν
ᾧ πλεῖον ἐφάνησαν ἰσχύοντες οἱ τὰ τοῦ Περσέως
αἱρούμενοι τῶν σῴζειν σπουδαζόντων τὴν πατρίδα
4 καὶ τοὺς νόμους. οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις παραχρῆμα
πρεσβευτὰς κατέστησαν τοὺς διαλύσοντας τὸν
πόλεμον, εἰς μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην Ἀγέπολιν, Διοκλῆ,
Κλινόμβροτον, πρὸς δὲ τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ Περσέα
Δάμωνα, Νικόστρατον, Ἀγησίλοχον, Τήλεφον.
5 τούτῳ δ' ἑξῆς τὸ συνεχὲς ἐξειργάζοντο καὶ προσ-
ετίθεσαν, ποιοῦντες ἀναπολόγητον τὴν ἁμαρτίαν·
6 εὐθέως γὰρ εἰς τὴν Κρήτην ἔπεμπον πρεσβευτὰς

had been deceived in this hope, he would certainly at least have involved Eumenes in enmity with Rome, it being in his power to make the transaction public. And it is easy to see, when we think of it, how valuable this would have been to Perseus, whether he were successful in the war or the reverse. For he considered Eumenes to have been the cause of all his misfortunes, and he could not have taken more effectual vengeance on him than by making him the enemy of Rome. What, then, was the reason of this evident folly on both sides? Avarice: what else could we say? For the one prince, to receive a gift which dishonoured him, neglected all other considerations, and undertook to do any dirty service; while the other, to save giving it, was ready to suffer any disaster and shut his eyes to all consequences. Perseus behaved in the same way towards the Galatians and towards Genthius. . . .

Conduct of the Rhodians

10. When the question was put to the vote in Rhodes the majority was in favour of sending the envoys to try to make peace. The debate had decided the relative strength of parties in Rhodes in favour of the one which sided with Perseus and against those who were anxious to preserve their country and their laws. The prytaneis hereupon at once appointed envoys to bring the war to an end, sending to Rome Hagepolis, Diocles, and Clinombrotus and to the Roman commander and to Perseus, Damon, Nicostratus, Hagesilochus, and Telephus. Their subsequent proceedings were in accord with this, and even more offensive, making their fault inexcusable. For they at once sent envoys to Crete

τοὺς ἀνανεωσομένους πρὸς πάντας Κρηταιεῖς τὰ
ὑπάρχοντα φιλάνθρωπα καὶ παρακαλέσοντας βλέ-
πειν τοὺς καιροὺς καὶ τὴν περίστασιν καὶ συμ-
φρονεῖν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν αἱρεῖσθαι
7 καὶ φίλον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατ᾿ ἰδίαν πρὸς τὰς
πόλεις ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν διαλεχθησομένους.

11 Ὅτι τῶν περὶ τὸν Παρμενίωνα καὶ Μόρκον,
(5) τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Γενθίου, καὶ σὺν τούτοις τοῦ Μη-
τροδώρου παραγενομένων εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον, καὶ
2 συναχθείσης τῆς βουλῆς, παντάπασιν θορυβώδης
ἦν ἐκκλησία, τῶν μὲν περὶ τὸν Δείνωνα <καὶ
Πολυάρατον> φανερῶς ἤδη τολμώντων λέγειν τὰ
τοῦ Περσέως, τῶν δὲ περὶ Θεαίδητον κατα-
3 πεπληγμένων τὰ συμβαίνοντα· καὶ γὰρ ἡ τῶν
λέμβων παρουσία καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολωλότων
ἱππέων καὶ ἡ τοῦ Γενθίου μετάθεσις συνέτριβεν
4 αὐτούς. διὸ καὶ τὸ πέρας τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀκό-
5 λουθον ἐγενήθη τοῖς προειρημένοις· ἔδοξε γὰρ
τοῖς Ῥοδίοις ἀποκριθῆναι φιλανθρώπως ἀμφοτέ-
ροις τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ διασαφεῖν ὅτι δέδοκται
διαλύειν αὐτοῖς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ παρακαλεῖν
6 κἀκείνους εὐδιαλύτους ὑπάρχειν. ἐδέξαντο δὲ
καὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἑστίαν τοὺς
παρὰ τοῦ Γενθίου μετὰ πολλῆς φιλανθρωπίας.

12 . . . πάλιν ἕτεροι περὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ πολέ-
(6a) μου· τούτου δ᾿ αἴτιόν ἐστιν ὅπερ ἡμῖν εἴρηται
2 διὰ πλειόνων. ὅταν γὰρ ἁπλᾶς καὶ μονοειδεῖς
λαβόντες ὑποθέσεις βούλωνται μὴ τοῖς πράγμα-

to renew friendly relations with the Cretans in general, and to beg them to consider the circumstances and the danger they were in, and to ally themselves with the Rhodian people and have the same enemies and friends. They were also charged to speak to the several cities in the same sense.

(Cp. Livy xliv. 29. 6.)

11. When Parmenion and Morcus the envoys of Genthius, accompanied by Metrodorus, reached Rhodes, and the Rhodian senate met, the sitting was a very stormy one, Deinon and Polyaratus now venturing to speak openly in favour of Perseus, and Theaedetus and his friends being dismayed at what was happening. For the presence of the Illyrian galleys, the large losses of the Roman cavalry, and Genthius's change of attitude weighed on their spirits. So that the sitting ended very much as the one described above had done. For the Rhodians decreed to give a courteous reply to both kings, and inform them that they had resolved to bring about peace and begged them also to be disposed to come to terms. They also entertained the envoys of Genthius very courteously at the public hearth or Prytaneum.

Digression on Method of Writing History

12. Other writers again have . . . about the war in Syria. The reason of this I have frequently explained. For when dealing with a subject which is simple and uniform they wish to be thought historians not because of what they accomplish,

σιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ πλήθει τῶν βύβλων ἱστοριογράφοι
νομίζεσθαι καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην ἐφέλκεσθαι φαντα-
σίαν, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι τὰ μὲν μικρὰ μεγάλα ποιεῖν,
3 τὰ δὲ βραχέως εἰρημένα διασκευάζειν καὶ λογο-
ποιεῖν, ἔνια δὲ τῶν ἐν παρέργῳ πεπραγμένων
ἔργα καὶ πράγματα κατασκευάζειν, ἀγῶνας δια-
τιθεμένους καὶ παρατάξεις ἐξαγγέλλοντας, ἐν αἷς
ἐνίοτε πεζοὶ μὲν ἔπεσον δέκα, ποτὲ <δὲ> μικρῷ
4 πλείους, ἱππεῖς δ' ἔ<τι> τούτων ἐλάττους. πολι-
ορκίας μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοπογραφίας καὶ τὰ παρα-
πλήσια τούτοις οὐκ ἂν εἴποι τις ἀξίως ἐφ' ὅσον
ἐξεργάζονται διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν τῶν πραγμάτων.
5 περὶ δὲ τοὺς τὰ καθόλου γράφοντας ἐναντίος
6 ἐστὶν ὁ τρόπος· διόπερ οὐ χρὴ καταγινώσκειν
ὡς ἡμῶν ἐπισυρόντων τὰς πράξεις, ὅταν τὰ παρ'
ἐνίοις πολλοῦ τετευχότα λόγου καὶ διασκευῆς
ἡμεῖς ποτὲ μὲν παραλείπωμεν, ποτὲ δὲ βραχέως
ἐξαγγέλλωμεν, ἀλλὰ πιστεύειν ὅτι τὸν καθήκοντα
7 λόγον ἑκάστοις ἀποδίδομεν. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ
ὅταν ἐν τῇ συμπάσῃ πραγματείᾳ λόγου χάριν
Φανοτείας καὶ Κορωνείας καὶ . . ε . . οὗ πο-
λιορκίαν γράφωσιν, ἀναγκάζονται πάσας τὰς τῆς
πολιορκίας ἐπινοίας καὶ τόλμας καὶ διαθέσεις
8 ἐκτίθεσθαι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις περὶ τὴν Τάραντος
κατάληψιν, Κορίνθου [πολιορκίαν], Σάρδεων, Γάζης,
Βάκτρων, ἐπὶ πᾶσι Καρχηδόνος πολιορκίαν δια-
τρίβειν καὶ προστιθέναι παρ' αὑτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ
παντάπασιν εὐδοκεῖν ἐὰν ψιλῶς περὶ τῶν τοιούτων
9 αὐτὸν τὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ κύριον ἀποδιδῶμεν λόγον. ἡ
δ' αὐτὴ καὶ περὶ παρατάξεων ἡμῖν ἔστω καὶ δη-
μηγοριῶν ἀπόφασις, παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ τῶν
10 ἄλλων μερῶν τῆς ἱστορίας· ἐν οἷς ἅπασι πολλῆς

but because of the multitude of their books, and to make such an impression as I have described, they are compelled to magnify small matters, to touch up and elaborate brief statements of fact and to convert quite incidental occurrences of no moment into momentous events and actions, describing engagements and pitched battles in which the infantry losses were at times ten men or it may be a few more and the cavalry losses still fewer. As for sieges, descriptions of places, and such matters, it would be hard to describe adequately how they work them up for lack of real matter. But writers of universal history act in just the opposite manner. I should not therefore be condemned for slurring over events, when I sometimes omit and sometimes briefly report things to which others have devoted much space and elaborate descriptions; but I should rather be credited with treating each event on a proper scale. For those authors, when in the course of their work they describe, for instance, the sieges of Phanotea, Coronea, or Haliartus, find it necessary to place before their readers all the devices, all the daring strokes, and all the other features of sieges in general, and in addition to this describe at length the capture of Tarentum, the sieges of Corinth, Sardis, Gaza, Bactra, and above all Carthage, adding inventions of their own; and they by no means approve of me, when I simply give a true and unvarnished account of such matters. The same remarks apply to descriptions of battles, the reports of speeches, and the other parts of history. In all these—I include also subsequent portions

ἂν δικαίως τυγχάνοιμεν συγγνώμης, ὁμοίως δὲ
καὶ περὶ τῶν λέγεσθαι μελλόντων, . οιον ει
τ . . φανείημεν ἢ λήμμασι χρώμενοι τοῖς αὐτοῖς
ἢ χειρισμῷ πραγμάτων ἢ τοῖς τῆς λέξεως ῥήμασι·
11 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐάν που παραπίπτωμεν <ἐν>
ὀνομασίαις ὀρῶν ἢ ποταμῶν ἢ τόπων ἰδιότησι·
τὸ γὰρ μέγεθος τῆς πραγματείας ἱκανόν ἐστιν
12 ἡμᾶς ἐν ἅπασι τούτοις παραιτεῖσθαι· πλὴν ἐάν
που κατὰ πρόθεσιν ἢ <κέρδους> τινὸς ἕνεκεν
εὑρισκώμεθα ψευδογραφοῦντες· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐ
παραιτούμεθα, καθάπερ ἤδη καὶ πλεονάκις ἐν
τῇ πραγματείᾳ περὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους δι-
εστάλμεθα.

13 Ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐνάτῃ καὶ εἰκοστῇ ὁ αὐτὸς Γένθιόν
(5) φησι τὸν τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν βασιλέα διὰ τὴν πολυ-
2 ποσίαν πολλὰ ποιεῖν ἀσελγῆ κατὰ τὸν βίον, νύκτωρ
τε αἰεὶ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν μεθύοντα· ἀποκτείναντα
δὲ καὶ Πλάτορα τὸν ἀδελφόν, γαμεῖν μέλλοντα
τὴν Μονουνίου θυγατέρα, αὐτὸν γῆμαι τὴν παῖδα
καὶ ὠμῶς χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἀρχομένοις.

14 Πρῶτος δὲ τῶν παρόντων ὁ Νασικᾶς ἐπι-
(6) καλούμενος Σκιπίων, γαμβρὸς Ἀφρικανοῦ Σκι-
πίωνος, ὕστερον δὲ μέγιστον ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ
δυνηθείς, ὑπεδέξατο τῆς κυκλώσεως ἡγεμὼν γε-
2 νέσθαι. δεύτερος δὲ Φάβιος Μάξιμος ὁ πρε-
σβύτατος τῶν Αἰμιλίου παίδων, ἔτι μειράκιον ὤν,
3 ἀνέστη προθυμούμενος. ἡσθεὶς οὖν ὁ Αἰμίλιος
δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὅσους Πολύβιος εἴρηκεν,

of my work—I may be justly pardoned if I am found to be using the same style, or the same disposition and treatment, or even actually the same words as on a previous occasion ; or again should I happen to be mistaken in the names of mountains and rivers or in my statements about the characteristics of places. For in all such matters the large scale of my work is a sufficient excuse. It is only if I am found guilty of deliberate mendacity or if it be for the sake of some profit, that I do not ask to be excused, as I have already stated several times in the course of this work when speaking on this subject.

Genthius of Illyria

(From Athenaeus x. p. 440[a] ; cp. Livy xliv. 30. 2.)

13. In his 29th Book Polybius also states that Genthius, King of Illyria, owing to his intemperate habits, was guilty of many licentious acts, being constantly drunk night and day. Having put to death his brother Plator, who was about to marry the daughter of Monunius, he married the girl himself, and he treated his subjects with great cruelty.

The Campaigns against Perseus

(From Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius*, 15.)

14. The first of the officers present who volunteered to lead the force that went to turn the enemy's flank was Scipio Nasica, the son-in-law of Africanus and afterwards very powerful in the senate, and next Fabius Maximus, the eldest son of Aemilius, who was still quite a young man, got up and proffered his services. This pleased Aemilius, who gave them not so many soldiers as Polybius says but as many

ἀλλ' ὅσους αὐτὸς ὁ Νασικᾶς λαβεῖν φησι, γεγραφὼς περὶ τῶν πράξεων τούτων ἐπιστόλιον πρός τινα τῶν βασιλέων.

4 Τῇ δυνάμει τῆς πάρμης καὶ τῶν Λιγυστικῶν θυρεῶν ἀντεῖχον ἐρρωμένως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι.

15 Τῷ δὲ Περσεῖ τὸν Αἰμίλιον ἀτρεμοῦντα κατὰ
(6) χώραν ὁρῶντι καὶ μὴ λογιζομένῳ τὸ γινόμενον,
ἀποδρὰς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ Κρὴς αὐτόμολος ἧκε μηνύων
2 τὴν περίοδον τῶν Ῥωμαίων. ὁ δὲ συνταραχθεὶς
τὸ μὲν στρατόπεδον οὐκ ἐκίνησε, μυρίους δὲ
μισθοφόρους ξένους καὶ δισχιλίους Μακεδόνας
Μίλωνι παραδοὺς ἐξαπέστειλε, παρακελευσάμενος
3 ταχῦναι καὶ καταλαβεῖν τὰς ὑπερβολάς. τούτοις
ὁ μὲν Πολύβιός φησιν ἔτι κοιμωμένοις ἐπιπεσεῖν
τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ὁ δὲ Νασικᾶς ὀξὺν ἀγῶνα
περὶ τοῖς ἄκροις γενέσθαι καὶ κίνδυνον.

16 Πολύβιος· ὅτι τῆς σελήνης ἐκλειπούσης ἐπὶ
(6) Περσέως τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἐκράτησεν ἡ φήμη
παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὅτι βασιλέως ἔκλειψιν ση-
2 μαίνει. καὶ τοῦτο τοὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίους εὐθαρ-
σεστέρους ἐποίησε, τοὺς δὲ Μακεδόνας ἐταπεί-
3 νωσε ταῖς ψυχαῖς. οὕτως ἀληθές ἐστι τὸ περι-
φερόμενον ὅτι πολλὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου.

17 Λεύκιος δὲ ὁ ὕπατος οὐχ ἑωρακὼς φάλαγγα τὸ
(6) παράπαν ἀλλὰ τότε πρῶτον ἐπὶ τοῦ Περσέως
πρός τινας πολλάκις ἀνθωμολογεῖτο τῶν ἐν τῇ
Ῥώμῃ μετὰ ταῦτα μηδὲν ἑωρακέναι φοβερώτερον

as Nasica himself says in writing to one of the kings about this exploit.

(Suid.; cp. Livy xliv. 35. 19.)

The Romans offered a strong resistance by the aid of their targets and Ligurian shields.

(From Plutarch, *Life of Aemilius Paullus*, 16.)

15. Perseus saw Aemilius remaining on his ground, and had no suspicion of the truth, when a Cretan deserter, who had abandoned the Romans on the line of march, informed him of their turning movement. The king was much disturbed; but, without moving his army, placed ten thousand foreign mercenaries and two thousand Macedonians under the command of Milo and sent him off with orders to make haste and occupy the heights. Polybius tells us that the Romans surprised this force while still asleep, but Nasica affirms that there was a sharp struggle on the heights.

(Suid.; cp. Plutarch, *Aem.* 16.)

16. When there was an eclipse of the moon in the time of Perseus of Macedonia, the report gained popular credence that it portended the eclipse of a king. This, while it lent fresh courage to the Romans, discouraged the Macedonians. So true is the saying that "there are many empty things in war."

(Suid.; cp. Livy xliv. 41. 1.)

17. Aemilius the consul, who had never seen a phalanx until this occasion in the war with Perseus, often confessed afterwards to certain persons in Rome that he had never seen anything more terrible

καὶ δεινότερον φάλαγγος Μακεδονικῆς, καίτοι γε πολλοὺς οὐ μόνον θεασάμενος ἀλλὰ καὶ χειρισάμενος ἀγῶνας, εἰ καί τις ἄλλος.

2 Ὅτι πολλὰ τῶν ἐπινοημάτων κατὰ μὲν τὸν
(12) λόγον φαίνεται πιθανὰ καὶ δυνατά, παραγενόμενα
δ' εἰς τὴν χρείαν, καθάπερ τὰ κίβδηλα τῶν νομισμάτων εἰς τὸ πῦρ, οὐκέτι ποιεῖ τἀκόλουθον ταῖς πρώταις ἐπινοίαις.

3 Πολύβιος· ὁ δὲ Περσεὺς μίαν ἔχων πρόληψιν
(6) ἢ νικᾶν ἢ θνήσκειν, τότε οὐχ ὑπέμεινε τῇ ψυχῇ
ἀλλ' ἀπεδειλία, καθάπερ οἱ προόπται τῶν ἱππέων.

4 Πολύβιος· ὁ δὲ Περσεὺς προσαγόμενος τὸν
(6) χρόνον καὶ τὸν πόνον ἐξελύετο τῇ ψυχῇ, καθάπερ
οἱ καχεκτοῦντες τῶν ἀθλητῶν· ὅτε γὰρ τὸ δεινὸν ἐγγίζοι καὶ δέοι κρίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν ὅλων, οὐχ ὑπέμεινε τῇ ψυχῇ.

18 Ὁ δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεύς, ὥς φησι Πο-
(17 5) λύβιος, τῆς μάχης ἀρχὴν λαμβανούσης ἀποδει-
(6) λιάσας εἰς πόλιν ἀφιππάσατο, σκηψάμενος Ἡρα-
κλεῖ θύειν, δειλὰ παρὰ δειλῶν ἱερὰ μὴ δεχομένῳ μηδ' εὐχὰς ἀθεμίτους ἐπιτελοῦντι.

19 Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ Περσεὺς ἡττηθεὶς
(7) ἀνεδίδρασκεν, ἔδοξε τῇ συγκλήτῳ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν
Ῥοδίων πρεσβευτὰς παραγεγονότας ὑπὲρ τοῦ διαλύειν τὸν πρὸς Περσέα πόλεμον προσκαλέ-

and dreadful than a Macedonian phalanx, and this although he had witnessed and directed as many battles as any man.

(Cp. Livy xliv. 41. 4.)

Many inventions seem to be plausible and likely to succeed when described; but when put to the test of experience, like false coins exposed to the fire, no longer answer to our first conception of them.

(Suid.; cp. Livy xliv. 42. 1.)

Perseus' one determination had been to conquer or to die; but his courage now gave way and he turned rein and fled as cavalry vedettes do.

(Suid.; cp. Livy, *ibid.*)

The courage of Perseus was exhausted by toil and time like that of athletes in bad condition. For when the danger approached, and it was his duty to fight a decisive battle, his courage broke down.

(From Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus*, 19.)

18. The Macedonian king, as Polybius tells us, at the very beginning of the battle turned rein and rode off to the town, pretending that he was going to sacrifice to Heracles, a god who neither accepts the craven offerings of cowards, nor fulfils unlawful prayers.

(Cp. Livy xlv. 3. 3.)

19. At the time when Perseus was beaten and ran away, the senate decided to summon the envoys from Rhodes, who had come with the object of bringing the war with Perseus to an end: Fortune,

2 σασθαι, τῆς τύχης ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες ἀναβιβαζούσης
ἐπὶ σκηνὴν τὴν τῶν Ῥοδίων ἄγνοιαν, εἰ χρὴ Ῥο-
δίων λέγειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῶν ἐπιπολασάντων ἀνθρώ-
3 πων τότε κατὰ τὴν Ῥόδον. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν
Ἀγέπολιν εἰσπορευθέντες ἐλθεῖν μὲν ἔφασαν δια-
λύσοντες τὸν πόλεμον· τὸν γὰρ δῆμον τῶν Ῥο-
δίων, ἑλκομένου τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πλείω χρόνον,
θεωροῦντα διότι πᾶσιν μὲν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀλυ-
σιτελὴς καὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ Ῥωμαίοις διὰ τὸ μέγεθος
τῶν δαπανημάτων, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην·
4 νῦν δὲ λελυμένου τοῦ πολέμου κατὰ τὴν τῶν
Ῥοδίων βούλησιν συγχαίρειν αὐτοῖς. ταῦτα μὲν
οὖν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀγέπολιν εἰπόντες βραχέως
5 ἐπανῆλθον. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος χρωμένη τῷ καιρῷ
καὶ βουλομένη παραδειγματίσαι τοὺς Ῥοδίους
ἀπόκρισιν ἐξέβαλεν, ἧς ἦν τὰ συνέχοντα ταῦτα,
6 διότι τὴν πρεσβείαν ταύτην οὔτε τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ἕνεκεν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἐσταλκέναι τοὺς Ῥοδίους
7 οὔθ᾽ ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ Περσέως. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων χάριν ἐπρέσβευον, ἐκεῖνον οἰκειότερον
εἶναι τὸν καιρόν, ὅτε Περσεὺς τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων
χώραν ἐπόρθει καὶ τὰς πόλεις, στρατοπεδεύων
μὲν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ δύ᾽ ἐνιαυτοὺς . . .
8 τὸ δὲ παρέντας ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν νῦν παρεῖναι
σπουδάζοντας διαλύειν τὸν πόλεμον, ὅτε παρ-
εμβεβληκότων τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατοπέδων εἰς
Μακεδονίαν συγκεκλεισμένος ὁ Περσεὺς ὀλίγας
9 παντάπασιν ἐλπίδας εἶχε τῆς σωτηρίας, προ-
φανὲς εἶναι τοῖς ὀρθῶς σκοπουμένοις διότι τὰς
πρεσβείας ἐξέπεμψαν οὐ διαλύειν ἐθέλοντες τὸν
πόλεμον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξελέσθαι τὸν Περσέα καὶ σῶσαι,
10 καθ᾽ ὅσον εἰσὶν δυνατοί. δι᾽ ἃς αἰτίας οὔτ᾽

as if of set purpose, bringing on the stage the folly of the Rhodians—if indeed we should say that of the Rhodians, and not rather that of the men who had then come to the surface at Rhodes. Agepolis and his colleagues, on entering, said they had come to bring the war to an end; for that the people of Rhodes, when they saw that the war still continued to drag on, and observed that it was unprofitable to all the Greeks and to the Romans themselves owing to its great expense, had decided on this step; but now that the war had terminated in the way that the Rhodians wished, they congratulated the Romans. Having said this very briefly they departed. But the senate, availing itself of this opportunity and wishing to make an example of the Rhodians, issued an answer, the main tenour of which was that they did not believe that the Rhodians had sent the embassy on behalf of the Greeks or of themselves, but on behalf of Perseus. For if the embassy were on behalf of the Greeks, it would have been a more suitable time to send it then when Perseus was encamped for nearly two years in Thessaly, and was devastating the land and cities of Greece; but from their having neglected to come at that time, and coming now when the Roman legions were encamped in Macedonia, when Perseus was surrounded and had scarcely any hope of escape, it was obvious to anyone who judged correctly that they had sent their embassies with no wish to bring the war to a close, but desiring, as far as lay in their power, to rescue and save Perseus. For this reason, they said, the present was no

εὐεργετεῖν οὔτε φιλανθρώπως αὐτοῖς ἀποκρί-
11 νεσθαι κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ὀφείλειν ἔφασαν. ταῦτα
μὲν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐχρημάτισε τοῖς παρὰ τῶν
Ῥοδίων πρεσβευταῖς.

20 Ὁ δὲ μεταλαβὼν τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν διάλεκτον
(6b) παρεκάλει τοὺς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ βλέποντας εἰς
τὰ παρόντα, δεικνὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν τὸν Περσέα,
μήτε μεγαλαυχεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατορθώμασι παρὰ
τὸ δέον μήτε βουλεύεσθαι μηδὲν ὑπερήφανον μηδ'
ἀνήκεστον περὶ μηδενός, μήτε καθόλου πιστεύειν
2 μηδέποτε ταῖς παρούσαις εὐτυχίαις· ἀλλ' ὅτε
μάλιστά τις κατορθοίη κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον βίον καὶ
κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις, τότε μάλιστα παρεκάλει
3 τῆς ἐναντίας τύχης ἔννοιαν λαμβάνειν. καὶ γὰρ
οὕτω μόλις ἂν ἐν ταῖς εὐκαιρίαις ἄνθρωπον μέ-
4 τριον ὄντα φανῆναι. τοῦτο γὰρ διαφέρειν ἔφη
τοὺς ἀνοήτους τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων, διότι συμβαίνει
τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀτυχίαις παιδεύεσθαι,
τοὺς δ' ἐν ταῖς τῶν πέλας.

21 Ὥστε πολλάκις καὶ λίαν μνημονεύειν τῆς Δημη-
(6c) 2 τρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως φωνῆς. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐν
τῷ περὶ τῆς τύχης ὑπομνήματι βουλόμενος ἐν-
αργῶς ὑποδεικνύναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ ταύτης
εὐμετάβολον, ἐπιστὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον
καιρούς, ὅτε κατέλυσε τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχήν, λέγει
3 ταῦτα· "εἰ γὰρ λάβοιτ' ἐν <νῷ> μὴ χρόνον ἄπει-
ρον μηδὲ γενεὰς πολλάς, ἀλλὰ πεντήκοντα μόνον

[a] The subject of the sentence, as given by the epitomator, seems to be Perseus, although the reflexion is essentially Polybius's own.

moment for doing them favours or returning them a courteous answer. Such were the proceedings in the senate regarding the Rhodian envoys.

Speech of Aemilius Paullus

(Cp. Livy xlv. 7. 4.)

20. Aemilius, now speaking in Latin, exhorted those present at the council to learn from what they now witnessed—showing them Perseus who was present—never to boast unduly of achievements and never be overbearing and merciless in their conduct to anyone, in fact never place any reliance on present prosperity. "It is chiefly," he said, "at those moments when we ourselves or our country are most successful that we should reflect on the opposite extremity of fortune; for only thus, and then with difficulty, shall we prove moderate in the season of prosperity. The difference," he said, "between foolish and wise men lies in this, that the former are schooled by their own misfortunes and the latter by those of others."

Reflections on the Fall of Perseus

(Cp. Livy xlv. 9. 2.)

21. So then often and bitterly did Perseus[a] call to mind the words of Demetrius of Phalerum. For he, in his treatise on Fortune, wishing to give men a striking instance of her mutability asks them to remember the times when Alexander overthrew the Persian empire, and speaks as follows: "For if you consider not countless years or many generations,

ἔτη ταυτὶ τὰ πρὸ ἡμῶν, γνοίητ' ἂν ὡς τὸ τῆς
4 τύχης χαλεπὸν ἐνταῦθα. πεντηκοστῷ γὰρ ἔτει
<πρότερον> οἴεσθ' ἂν ἢ Πέρσας ἢ βασιλέα τῶν
Περσῶν ἢ Μακεδόνας ἢ βασιλέα τῶν Μακεδόνων,
εἴ τις θεῶν αὐτοῖς προύλεγε τὸ μέλλον, πιστεῦσαί
ποτ' ἂν ὡς εἰς τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν Περσῶν <μὲν>
οὐδ' ὄνομα λειφθήσεται τὸ παράπαν, οἳ πάσης
<σχεδὸν> τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐδέσποζον, Μακεδόνες
δὲ <καὶ> πάσης κρατήσουσιν, ὧν οὐδ' ὄνομα
5 πρότερον ἦν <γνώριμον>. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡ πρὸς
τὸν βίον ἡμῶν ἀσύνθετος Τύχη καὶ πάντα παρὰ
<τὸν> λογισμὸν τὸν ἡμέτερον καινοποιοῦσα καὶ
τὴν αὑτῆς δύναμιν ἐν τοῖς παραδόξοις ἐνδεικνυ-
μένη, καὶ νῦν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, δείκνυσι πᾶσιν
6 ἀνθρώποις, Μακεδόνας εἰς τὴν Περσῶν εὐδαι-
μονίαν εἰσοικίσασα, διότι καὶ τούτοις ταῦτα
τἀγαθὰ κέχρηκεν, ἕως <ἂν> ἄλλο τι βουλεύσηται
7 περὶ αὐτῶν." ὃ νῦν γέγονε κατὰ Περσέα.
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν Δημήτριος ὡσανεὶ θείῳ τινὶ στό-
8 ματι περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀποπεφοίβακεν. ἐγὼ
δὲ κατὰ τὴν γραφὴν ἐπιστὰς τοῖς καιροῖς καθ'
οὓς συνέβη καταλυθῆναι τὴν Μακεδόνων βασι-
λείαν, οὐκ ἔκρινον ἀνεπιστάτως παραδραμεῖν,
ἅτε γεγονὼς αὐτόπτης τῆς πράξεως, ἀλλ' αὐτός τε
τὸν πρέποντα λόγον ἐπιφθέγξασθαι καὶ Δημη-
9 τρίου μνησθῆναι· δοκεῖ γάρ μοι θειοτέραν ἢ
κατ' ἄνθρωπον τὴν ἀπόφασιν ποιήσασθαι· σχεδὸν
γὰρ ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα πρότερον ἔτεσι τἀ-
ληθὲς ἀπεφήνατο περὶ τῶν ἔπειτα συμβησομένων.

but merely these last fifty years, you will read in them the cruelty of Fortune. I ask you, do you think that fifty years ago either the Persians and the Persian king or the Macedonians and the king of Macedon, if some god had foretold the future to them, would ever have believed that at the time when we live, the very name of the Persians would have perished utterly—the Persians who were masters of almost the whole world—and that the Macedonians, whose name was formerly almost unknown, would now be the lords of it all? But nevertheless this Fortune, who never compacts with life, who always defeats our reckoning by some novel stroke; she who ever demonstrates her power by foiling our expectations, now also, as it seems to me, makes it clear to all men, by endowing the Macedonians with the whole wealth of Persia, that she has but lent them these blessings until she decides to deal differently with them." And this now happened in the time of Perseus. Surely Demetrius, as if by the mouth of some god, uttered those prophetic words. And I, as I wrote and reflected on the time when the Macedonian monarchy perished, did not think it right to pass over the event without comment, as it was one I witnessed with my own eyes; but I considered it was for me also to say something befitting such an occasion, and recall the words of Demetrius. This utterance of his seems to me to have been more divine than that of a mere man. For nearly a hundred and fifty years ago he uttered the truth about what was to happen afterwards.

III. Res Pergami

22 Ὅτι Εὐμένης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς Περσέως καὶ
(6[d]) Ῥωμαίων μάχης συντετελεσμένης εἰς παράλογον ἐνέπεσε διάθεσιν, ὡς οἱ πολλοί φασιν, ὡς δὲ τἀνθρώπινα πράγματα φύσιν ἔχει γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον, εἴς τι τῶν εἰωθότων συμβαίνειν·
2 ἱκανὴ γὰρ ἡ τύχη τοῖς παρὰ λόγον τὰ κατὰ λόγον ἐπιτρῖψαι, κἄν τινι συνεργήσῃ καὶ προσθῆται τὴν αὑτῆς ῥοπήν, αὖθις οἷον ἐκ μεταμελείας ἀντισηκοῦν καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι τὰ κατορθώματα
3 παρὰ πόδας. ὃ καὶ τότε περὶ τὸν Εὐμένη γε-
4 νέσθαι συνέπεσε· δόξας γὰρ μάλιστα τότε τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ βεβηκέναι καὶ πολλὴν ἐπιφέρειν ῥᾳστώνην τὸν ἑξῆς χρόνον, ἅτε τοῦ Περσέως καὶ καθόλου τῆς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλείας ἄρδην ἀνῃρημένης, τότε μεγίστοις ἐνεκύρησε κινδύνοις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Γαλατῶν ἀνυπονοήτως <συν>εξαναστάντων τοῖς καιροῖς.

IV. Bellum Antiochi IV. cum Ptolemaeis fratribus

23 Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἔτι κατὰ χει-
(8) μῶνα πρεσβείας παραγενομένης παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀμφοτέρων [Πτολεμαίου καὶ Πτολεμαίου] περὶ βοηθείας, ἐγενήθη διαβούλια καὶ πλείω,
2 πολλὴν ἔχοντα φιλοτιμίαν. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸν Καλλικράτην καὶ Διοφάνην καὶ σὺν τούτοις
3 Ὑπέρβατον οὐκ ἤρεσκε διδόναι βοήθειαν, τοῖς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄρχωνα καὶ Λυκόρταν καὶ Πολύβιον ἤρεσκε τὸ διδόναι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι κατὰ τὴν ὑπ-
4 άρχουσαν συμμαχίαν. ἤδη γὰρ συνέβαινε τότε

III. Affairs of Pergamus

22. Eumenes, King of Pergamus, after the battle between Perseus and the Romans was over, found himself, as most people say, strangely circumstanced; but, considering the nature of human affairs, it was nothing out of the way. For Fortune is quite capable of dashing reasonable expectations by unexpected blows; and, if she ever helps anyone and throws her weight into the balance, she will again, as if she repented of it, turn the scale against him, and in a moment mar all he has achieved. This is what happened to Eumenes on the present occasion. For, just when he thought that his kingdom stood on a firm footing, and that the future had perfect peace and quiet in store for him, as Perseus and the power of Macedonia had been utterly destroyed, there lighted on him this peril from the Gauls of Asia, who unexpectedly seized on the occasion to attack him.

IV. War between Antiochus and the two brothers Ptolemy

23. In the Peloponnesus, when an embassy arrived while it was still winter from both kings, asking for help, there were several very warm debates. Callicrates, Diophanes, and Hyperbatus did not approve of sending help, but Archon, Lycortas, and Polybius were in favour of giving it according to the terms of the existing alliance. For the people had already

τὸν νεώτερον Πτολεμαῖον ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχλων ἀνα-
δεδεῖχθαι βασιλέα διὰ τὴν περίστασιν, τὸν δὲ
πρεσβύτερον ἐκ τῆς Μέμφεως καταπεπορεῦσθαι
5 καὶ συμβασιλεύειν τἀδελφῷ. καὶ δεόμενοι παντο-
δαπῆς ἐπικουρίας ἐξαπέστειλαν πρεσβευτὰς Εὐ-
μένη καὶ Διονυσόδωρον πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιούς,
αἰτοῦντες πεζοὺς μὲν χιλίους ἱππεῖς δὲ διακο-
σίους, ἡγεμόνα δὲ τῆς ὅλης συμμαχίας Λυκόρταν,
6 τῶν δ᾿ ἱππέων Πολύβιον. πρὸς δὲ Θεοδωρίδαν
τὸν Σικυώνιον διεπέμψαντο, παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν
7 συστήσασθαι ξενολόγιον χιλίων ἀνδρῶν. συν-
έβαινε δὲ τοὺς μὲν βασιλεῖς τὴν ἐπὶ πλεῖον σύ-
στασιν ἔχειν πρὸς τοὺς εἰρημένους ἄνδρας ἐκ τῶν
8 πράξεων ὧν εἰρήκαμεν. τῶν δὲ πρεσβευτῶν
παραγενομένων, τῆς συνόδου τῶν Ἀχαιῶν οὔσης
ἐν Κορίνθῳ, καὶ τά τε φιλάνθρωπα πρὸς τὴν
βασιλείαν ἀνανεωσαμένων ὄντα μεγάλα καὶ τὴν
περίστασιν τῶν βασιλέων ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν ἀγόντων
9 καὶ δεομένων σφίσι βοηθεῖν, τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν
Ἀχαιῶν ἕτοιμον ἦν οὐ μέρει τινί, πανδημεὶ δὲ
συγκινδυνεύειν, εἰ δέοι, τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν· ἀμφό-
τεροι γὰρ εἶχον τό τε διάδημα καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν.
10 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Καλλικράτην ἀντέλεγον, φάσκοντες
δεῖν καθόλου μὲν μὴ πραγματοκοπεῖν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς
παροῦσι καιροῖς μηδ᾿ ὅλως, ἀλλ᾿ ἀπερισπάστους
11 ὑπάρχοντας Ῥωμαίοις παρέχεσθαι χρείας· μάλιστα
γὰρ ἦν τότε προσδόκιμος ὁ περὶ τῶν ὅλων κίν-
δυνος, ἅτε τοῦ Κοΐντου τοῦ Φιλίππου τὴν
24 παραχειμασίαν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ ποιουμένου. τῶν
(9) δὲ πολλῶν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐμπιπτόντων, μὴ δόξωσι
Ῥωμαίων ἀστοχεῖν, μεταλαβόντες τοὺς λόγους
οἱ περὶ τὸν Λυκόρταν καὶ Πολύβιον ἐδίδασκον,

proclaimed the younger Ptolemy king owing to the dangerous situation, while the elder one had come down from Memphis and shared the throne with his brother; and as they were in need of assistance from every possible quarter, they sent Eumenes and Dionysodorus on this embassy to the Achaeans begging for a thousand foot and two hundred horse, the whole force to be commanded by Lycortas and the cavalry by Polybius. They also sent a message to Theodoridas of Sicyon begging him to raise a mercenary force of a thousand men. The kings were particularly intimate with the men I have mentioned, owing to the circumstances narrated above. When the envoys arrived, the Achaean Assembly being then in session at Corinth, and when after renewing the friendly relations of the Achaeans and the kings, which were of a very close character, they brought before their eyes the danger in which the kings stood, and begged for help, the Achaean people were ready to go, not only with a part of their forces, but if necessary with the whole, to fight for the two kings, both of whom wore the crown and exercised royal authority. Callicrates and the others, however, opposed it, saying that generally speaking they should not meddle with such matters, and at the present time should most strictly avoid it and give undivided attention to serving the cause of Rome. For this was just the time when a decisive end of the war was expected, as Quintus Philippus was in winter quarters in Macedonia. 24. The people were now in doubt, and afraid of failing to please the Romans, when Lycortas and Polybius,

2 ἄλλα τε καὶ πλείω προφερόμενοι καὶ διότι, τῷ
πρότερον ἔτει ψηφισαμένων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν παν-
δημεὶ συστρατεύειν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις καὶ πεμψάντων
πρεσβευτὴν τὸν Πολύβιον, ὁ Κόιντος ἀποδεξά-
μενος τὴν προθυμίαν ἀπείπατο μὴ χρείαν ἔχειν
τῆς βοηθείας, ἐπεὶ κεκράτηκε τῆς εἰς Μακε-
3 δονίαν εἰσβολῆς. ἐξ ὧν ἀπεδείκνυσαν σκῆψιν
οὖσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων χρείαν πρὸς τὸ διακωλῦσαι
4 βοηθεῖν. διὸ παρεκάλουν τοὺς Ἀχαιούς, ὑπο-
δεικνύοντες τὸ μέγεθος τῆς περιστάσεως, ἐν ᾗ
συνέβαινε τότε τὴν βασιλείαν ὑπάρχειν, μὴ παρ-
ιδεῖν τὸν καιρόν, ἀλλὰ μνημονεύοντας τῶν ὁμο-
λογιῶν καὶ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν
5 ὅρκων, ἐμπεδοῦν τὰς συνθήκας. τῶν δὲ πολλῶν
ἐπιφερομένων πάλιν βοηθεῖν, τότε μὲν οἱ περὶ
τὸν Καλλικράτην ἐξέβαλον τὸ διαβούλιον, δια-
σείσαντες τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὡς οὐκ οὔσης ἐξουσίας
κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐν ἀγορᾷ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ
6 βοηθείας. μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον συγκλήτου συν-
αχθείσης εἰς τὴν τῶν Σικυωνίων πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ
συνέβαινε μὴ μόνον συμπορεύεσθαι τὴν βουλὴν
ἀλλὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ τριάκοντ' ἐτῶν, καὶ λόγων
7 γινομένων πλειόνων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Πολυβίου
διοριζομένου πρῶτον μὲν περὶ τοῦ μὴ χρείαν
ἔχειν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τῆς βοηθείας καὶ δοκοῦντος
οὐκ εἰκῇ ταῦτα λέγειν διὰ τὸ γεγονέναι τὴν παρ-
ελθοῦσαν θερείαν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ παρὰ τῷ
8 Φιλίππῳ, δεύτερον δὲ φάσκοντος, ἐὰν καὶ δέωνται
Ῥωμαῖοι τῆς συμμαχίας, οὐ διὰ τοὺς διακοσίους
ἱππεῖς καὶ χιλίους πεζοὺς τοὺς ἀποσταλησομέ-
νους εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀδυνατήσειν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς
βοηθεῖν Ῥωμαίοις· καλῶς γὰρ ποιοῦντας αὐτοὺς

resuming the discussion, adduced several arguments, and especially the fact that in the previous year, when the Achaeans had voted to join the Romans in full force, and sent Polybius as their envoy to propose it, Quintus after thanking them for their zeal, had informed them that he had no need of the proffered help, as he was master of the passes leading to Macedonia. This, they said, proved that the possible need of the Romans for them was a mere pretext for preventing the dispatch of help to the kings. They, therefore, pointing out the imminence of the peril that threatened the kingdom of Egypt, entreated the Achaeans not to neglect this opportunity, but, mindful of their agreement, of the benefits they had received, and especially of their sworn word, confirm the proposed treaty. The Assembly now inclining to send help, Callicrates for the time threw out the resolution, intimidating the magistrates by the assertion that the law gave them no authority to discuss the question of the dispatch of armed help in the popular assembly. When shortly afterwards a meeting was held at Sicyon, at which not only the Achaean senate was present, but all citizens over thirty years of age, several speeches were made; and Polybius especially maintained in the first place that the Romans stood in no need of their assistance—a statement thought to be by no means made at random, as in the previous summer he had been with Quintus Philippus in Macedonia—and said next, that if the Romans did really require their help, the dispatch of the two hundred horse and a thousand foot to Alexandria would not make it impossible for the Achaeans to come to the aid of the Romans; for they

καὶ τρεῖς ἄγειν καὶ τέτταρας μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν
9 μαχίμων· εὐδοκοῦντες τοῖς λεγομένοις ἔρρεπον
10 οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸ πέμπειν τὴν συμμαχίαν. τῇ
δὲ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐν ᾗ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους
ἔδει τὰ ψηφίσματα προσφέρειν τοὺς βουλομένους,
οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Λυκόρταν προσήνεγκαν διότι
δεῖ πέμπειν τὴν βοήθειαν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Καλλι-
κράτην διότι δεῖ πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαποστέλλειν τοὺς
διαλύσοντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον.
11 πάλιν δὲ τῶν διαβουλίων προτεθέντων ἀγὼν
ἐγίνετο νεανικός· πολύ γε μὴν ὑπερεῖχον οἱ περὶ
12 τὸν Λυκόρταν. αἵ τε γὰρ βασιλεῖαι συγκρι-
13 νόμεναι μεγάλην εἶχον διαφοράν· ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ
τῆς Ἀντιόχου σπάνιον ἦν εὑρεῖν οἰκεῖόν τι γε-
γονὸς καθόλου πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔν γε τοῖς
ἀνώτερον χρόνοις· καὶ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ τότε βασι-
λεύοντος μεγαλοψυχία <διά>δηλος ἐγένετο τοῖς
14 Ἕλλησιν· ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Πτολεμαίου τοσαῦτα καὶ
τηλικαῦτα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐγεγόνει φιλάνθρωπα
κατὰ τοὺς ἀνώτερον χρόνους ὥστ' ἂν μηδένα
15 πλεῖον ἀξιοῦν. ἃ διατιθέμενος ὁ Λυκόρτας με-
γάλην ἐποιεῖτο φαντασίαν, ἅτε τῆς παραθέσεως
16 ὁλοσχερῆ τὴν διαφορὰν ἐχούσης· καθ' ὅσον γὰρ
οὐκ ἐξαριθμήσασθαι ῥᾴδιον ἦν τὰς τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξ-
ανδρείᾳ βασιλέων εὐεργεσίας, κατὰ τοσοῦτον
ἁπλῶς οὐδὲν ἦν εὑρεῖν φιλάνθρωπον ἐκ τῆς Ἀν-
τιόχου βασιλείας ἀπηντημένον εἰς πραγμάτων
λόγον τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς.

25 Ὅτι ἕως μέν τινος οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀνδρωνίδαν
(10) καὶ Καλλικράτην ἐχρῶντο τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς δια-
λύσεως λόγοις, οὐδενὸς δὲ προσέχοντος αὐτοῖς
2 ἐπεισήγαγον μηχανήν. παρῆν γὰρ ἐκ πορείας

could very well raise a force of even thirty or forty thousand men fit to take the field. His speech met with approval, and the people were now disposed to send the help. On the second day, when the law enjoined that those who wished to propose decrees should bring them forward, Lycortas proposed to send the auxiliaries, and Callicrates to send envoys to make peace between the kings and Antiochus. Upon the resolution being proposed there was again a lively debate; but Lycortas and his party had much the best of it. For there was a great difference between the two kingdoms in comparison, since only rare instances could be found in which there had been any close relations between that of Antiochus and Greece, in former times at least—for the present king had acted with conspicuous generosity towards the Greeks—but the favours which the Achaeans had received from the kingdom of Egypt in former times had been so great and frequent, that no one could have expected more. Lycortas, by arguing thus, made a great impression, as the comparison showed the difference to be complete. For while it was not easy to enumerate the benefits conferred by the kings in Alexandria, there was not a single act of kindness of any practical value to be found which the Achaeans had met with from the dynasty of Antiochus.

25. Andronidas and Callicrates spoke for a time in favour of making peace; but as no one paid any attention to them, they had recourse to intervention from a higher quarter. For a courier fresh from his

εἰς τὸ θέατρον γραμματηφόρος φέρων ἐπιστολὴν παρὰ Κοΐντου Μαρκίου, δι' ἧς παρεκάλει τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας τῇ Ῥωμαίων προαιρέσει
3 πειρᾶσθαι διαλύειν τοὺς βασιλεῖς· συνέβαινε γὰρ καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπεσταλκέναι πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς
4 περὶ Νεμέσιον διαλύσοντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τῆς ὑποθέσεως· οἱ γὰρ περὶ τὸν Τίτον ἀδυνατήσαντες τοῦ διαλύειν ἀνακεχωρή-
5 κεισαν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἄπρακτοι τελείως. ἀλλ' οἱ περὶ τὸν Πολύβιον οὐ βουλόμενοι διὰ τὸν Μάρκιον πρὸς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀντιλέγειν ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ
6 τὴν βοήθειαν οὕτω διέπεσε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, τοῖς δ' Ἀχαιοῖς ἔδοξε πρεσβευτὰς ἀποστέλλειν τοὺς διαλύσοντας· καὶ κατεστάθησαν Ἄρχων Αἰγει-
7 ράτης, Ἀρκεσίλαος Ἀρίστων Μεγαλοπολῖται. οἱ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πρεσβευταὶ διαψευσθέντες τῆς συμμαχίας ἀνέδωκαν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ἑτοίμας ἔχοντες, ἐπιστολὰς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων, δι' ὧν ἠξίουν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐκπέμπειν Λυκόρταν καὶ Πολύβιον ἐπὶ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα πόλεμον.

26 Ἐπιλαθόμενος δὲ τῶν γεγραμμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
(7a) Ἀντίοχος καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐξήρτυε πόλεμον κατὰ Πτολεμαίου, ὥστε καὶ λίαν ἀληθὲς φαίνεσθαι τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ Σιμωνίδου "χαλεπὸν ἐσθλὸν ἔμ-
2 μεναι." ἔχειν μὲν γὰρ ὁρμὰς ἐπὶ τὰ καλὰ καὶ μέχρι τινὸς ἀντιποιήσασθαι τούτων εὐμαρές, ὁμαλίσαι δὲ καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν περίστασιν ἐπίμονον γενέσθαι τῇ γνώμῃ, μηδὲν τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου προυργιαίτερον τιθέμενον, δυσχερές.

27 Ὅτι τοῦ Ἀντιόχου πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον ἕνεκεν
(11) 2 τοῦ Πηλούσιον κατασχεῖν ἀφικομένου, ὁ Ποπί-

journey appeared in the theatre bearing a letter from Quintus Marcius, in which he begged the Achaeans to follow the Roman policy in attempting to make peace between the kings. Now it was true that the senate had sent envoys headed by Titus Numisius for this purpose ; but the result had not been such as to favour this course, for Titus had found it impossible to make peace and had returned to Rome without achieving anything at all. Polybius, however, out of respect for Marcius not wishing to oppose the letter, retired from the discussion ; and in this manner the project of the kings to secure help failed, and the Achaeans decided to send envoys to bring about peace, their choice falling on Archon of Aegeira and Arcesilaus and Ariston of Megalopolis. Upon this the envoys from Ptolemy, foiled in their project of getting armed help, handed to the magistrates a letter from the kings which they had ready, begging the Achaeans to send Lycortas and Polybius to help in the war.

26. Forgetful of all he had written and spoken Antiochus was making preparations for war with Ptolemy, so that what Simonides said seems to be very true : "It is hard to be good." It is indeed easy to be disposed to act honourably and to strive to do so up to a certain point, but to be consistent and under every circumstance to be steadfast in our purpose, esteeming nothing to be of higher importance than justice and honour, is difficult.

27. At the time when Antiochus approached Ptolemy and meant to occupy Pelusium, Caius

λιος ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγός, τοῦ βασιλέως
πόρρωθεν ἀσπαζομένου διὰ τῆς φωνῆς καὶ τὴν
δεξιὰν προτείνοντος, πρόχειρον ἔχων τὸ δελτά-
ριον, ἐν ᾧ τὸ τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμα κατ<ετ>έ-
τακτο, προύτεινεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐκέλευσε πρῶτον
3 ἀναγνῶναι τὸν Ἀντίοχον, ὡς μὲν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, <μὴ>
πρότερον ἀξιώσας τὸ τῆς φιλίας σύνθημα ποιεῖν
πρὶν ἢ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐπιγνῶναι τοῦ δεξιουμένου,
4 πότερα φίλιος ἢ πολέμιός ἐστιν. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ὁ
βασιλεὺς ἀναγνοὺς ἔφη βούλεσθαι μεταδοῦναι
τοῖς φίλοις ὑπὲρ τῶν προσπεπτωκότων, ἀκούσας
ὁ Ποπίλιος ἐποίησε πρᾶγμα βαρὺ μὲν δοκοῦν
5 εἶναι καὶ τελέως ὑπερήφανον· ἔχων γὰρ πρό-
χειρον ἀμπελίνην βακτηρίαν περιέγραφε τῷ κλή-
ματι τὸν Ἀντίοχον ἐν τούτῳ τε τῷ γύρῳ τὴν
ἀπόφασιν ἐκέλευσε δοῦναι περὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων·
6 ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ξενισθεὶς τὸ γινόμενον καὶ τὴν
ὑπεροχήν, βραχὺν χρόνον ἐναπορήσας ἔφη ποιήσειν
πᾶν τὸ παρακαλούμενον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων. οἱ δὲ
περὶ τὸν Ποπίλιον τότε τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ λαμβά-
7 νοντες ἅμα πάντες ἠσπάζοντο φιλοφρόνως. ἦν
δὲ τὰ γεγραμμένα λύειν ἐξ αὐτῆς τὸν πρὸς Πτο-
8 λεμαῖον πόλεμον. διὸ καὶ δοθεισῶν αὐτῷ τα-
κτῶν ἡμερῶν, οὗτος μὲν ἀπῆγε τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς
τὴν Συρίαν, βαρυνόμενος καὶ στένων, εἴκων δὲ
9 τοῖς καιροῖς κατὰ τὸ παρόν· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πο-
πίλιον καταστησάμενοι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν
καὶ παρακαλέσαντες τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὁμονοεῖν, ἅμα
δὲ προστάξαντες αὐτοῖς Πολυάρατον ἀναπέμπειν
εἰς Ῥώμην, ἀνέπλευσαν ἐπὶ τῆς Κύπρου, βου-
λόμενοι καὶ τὰς ἐκεῖ <καθ>υπαρχούσας δυνάμεις
10 ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς νήσου κατὰ σπουδήν. ἀφικό-

Popilius Laenas, the Roman commander, on Antiochus greeting him from a distance and then holding out his hand, handed to the king, as he had it by him, the copy of the senatus-consultum, and told him to read it first, not thinking it proper, as it seems to me, to make the conventional sign of friendship before he knew if the intentions of him who was greeting him were friendly or hostile. But when the king, after reading it, said he would like to communicate with his friends about this intelligence, Popilius acted in a manner which was thought to be offensive and exceedingly arrogant. He was carrying a stick cut from a vine, and with this he drew a circle round Antiochus and told him he must remain inside this circle until he gave his decision about the contents of the letter. The king was astonished at this authoritative proceeding, but, after a few moments' hesitation, said he would do all that the Romans demanded. Upon this Popilius and his suite all grasped him by the hand and greeted him warmly. The letter ordered him to put an end at once to the war with Ptolemy. So, as a fixed number of days were allowed to him, he led his army back to Syria, deeply hurt and complaining indeed, but yielding to circumstances for the present. Popilius after arranging matters in Alexandria and exhorting the two kings there to act in common, ordering them also to send Polyaratus to Rome, sailed for Cyprus, wishing to lose no time in expelling the Syrian troops that were in the island. When they arrived, finding

μενοι δὲ καὶ καταλαβόντες ἡττημένους μάχῃ
τοὺς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου στρατηγοὺς καὶ καθόλου
φερόμενα τὰ κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον <ἄνω καὶ κάτω>
ταχέως ἀνέστησαν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκ τῆς χώρας
καὶ παρήδρευσαν, ἕως ἀπέπλευσαν αἱ δυνάμεις
11 ἐπὶ Συρίας. καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὅσον οὔπω κατα-
πεπονημένην τὴν Πτολεμαίου βασιλείαν τούτῳ
12 τῷ τρόπῳ διέσωσαν, τῆς τύχης οὕτω βραβευούσης
τὰ κατὰ τὸν Περσέα πράγματα καὶ τοὺς Μακε-
δόνας ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἔσχατον καιρὸν ἐλθόντα
τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τὴν ὅλην Αἴ-
γυπτον παρὰ τοῦτο πάλιν ὀρθωθῆναι, παρὰ τὸ
13 φθάσαι κριθέντα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Περσέα πράγματα·
μὴ γὰρ γενομένου τούτου καὶ πιστευθέντος, οὐκ
ἄν μοι δοκεῖ πειθαρχῆσαι τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις
Ἀντίοχος.

that Ptolemy's generals had been defeated and that the affairs of Cyprus were generally in a topsy-turvy state, they soon made the Syrian army retire from the country, and waited until the troops took ship for Syria. In this way the Romans saved the kingdom of Ptolemy, which had almost been crushed out of existence: Fortune having so directed the matter of Perseus and Macedonia that when the position of Alexandria and the whole of Egypt was almost desperate, all was again set right simply owing to the fact that the fate of Perseus had been decided. For had this not been so, and had not Antiochus been certain of it, he would never, I think, have obeyed the Roman behests.

FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXX

I. Res Italiae

1 Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἦλθε παρὰ τοῦ
2 βασιλέως Εὐμένους ἀδελφὸς Ἄτταλος, ἔχων μὲν
πρόφασιν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς Γαλάτας ἐγε-
γόνει σύμπτωμα περὶ τὴν βασιλείαν, ὅμως ἐλθεῖν
εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἕνεκεν τοῦ συγχαρῆναι τῇ συγ-
κλήτῳ καὶ τυχεῖν τινος ἐπισημασίας διὰ τὸ συμ-
πεπολεμηκέναι καὶ πάντων εὐμενῶς σφίσι μετ-
3 εσχηκέναι τῶν κινδύνων· τότε δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν
Γαλατικὴν περίστασιν ἠναγκασμένος ἧκεν εἰς
4 τὴν Ῥώμην. πάντων δὲ φιλοφρόνως αὐτὸν ἀπο-
δεχομένων διά τε τὴν ἐν τῇ στρατείᾳ γεγενημένην
συνήθειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν εὔνουν αὐτοῖς ὑπ-
άρχειν, καὶ γινομένης τῆς ἀπαντήσεως ὑπὲρ τὴν
προσδοκίαν, μετέωρος ἐγενήθη ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, οὐκ
5 εἰδὼς τὴν ἀληθινὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀποδοχῆς. διὸ
καὶ παρ᾽ ὀλίγον ἦλθε τοῦ λυμήνασθαι τὰ σφέτερα
6 πράγματα καὶ τὴν ὅλην βασιλείαν. τῶν γὰρ
πλείστων Ῥωμαίων ἀπηλλοτριωμένων τῆς τοῦ
βασιλέως Εὐμένους εὐνοίας καὶ πεπεισμένων αὐτὸν
πλάγιον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ γεγονέναι, λαλοῦντα τῷ

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXX

I. Affairs of Italy

Attalus at Rome; Embassies from Rhodes

(Cp. Livy xlv. 19.)

1. At this time Attalus arrived in Rome sent by his brother Eumenes, the pretext for his mission being, that even if there had not been the Galatian trouble in the kingdom, still he would have come with the wish to congratulate the senate and with the hope of receiving some marks of attention, as they had fought side by side with the Romans and loyally shared all their dangers. Now, however, the Galatian danger had obliged him to come to Rome. He was very cordially received on all sides since they had become intimate with him in camp, and thought he was very well disposed to Rome, and, as the warmth of his reception even surpassed his expectations, he began to entertain extravagant hopes, not knowing the true reason of their kindness. In consequence he narrowly escaped damaging the interests of himself and his brother and their kingdom in general. For as the regard of most of the Romans for Eumenes had been estranged, and they were convinced that he had not acted straight in the war, but had kept on communicating with 168–167 B.C.

Περσεῖ καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐφεδρεύοντα τοῖς κατ'
7 αὐτῶν, ἔνιοι τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν λαμβάνοντες
εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τὸν Ἄτταλον παρεκάλουν τὴν μὲν
ὑπὲρ τἀδελφοῦ πρεσβείαν ἀποθέσθαι, περὶ δ'
8 ἑαυτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους· βούλεσθαι γὰρ
αὐτῷ τὴν σύγκλητον συγκατασκευάζειν ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν
καὶ δυναστείαν διὰ τὴν ἀλλοτριότητα τὴν πρὸς
9 τὸν ἀδελφόν. ἐφ' οἷς συνέβαινε τὸν Ἄτταλον
ἐπὶ πολὺ μετεωρίζεσθαι καὶ συγκατανεύειν <ἐν>
ταῖς κατ' ἰδίαν ὁμιλίαις τοῖς εἰς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος
10 αὐτὸν παρορμῶσι. τέλος δὲ πρὸς ἐνίους τῶν
ἀξιολόγων ἀνδρῶν συνέθετο καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς
τὴν σύγκλητον ποιήσεσθαι τοὺς περὶ τούτων
λόγους.

2 Τοιαύτης δ' οὔσης τῆς διαθέσεως περὶ τὸν
Ἄτταλον, ὀττευσάμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ μέλλον
ἐπιπέμπει Στρατίον τὸν ἰατρὸν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην,
2 ὃς μεγίστην παρ' αὐτῷ πίστιν εἶχε, τὰ μὲν ὑπο-
δείξας, τὰ δ' ἐντειλάμενος πᾶσαν εἰσενέγκασθαι
μηχανὴν πρὸς τὸ μὴ κατακολουθῆσαι τὸν Ἄτταλον
τοῖς βουλομένοις λυμήνασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν αὐ-
3 τῶν. ὁ δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ
λαβὼν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τὸν Ἄτταλον πολλοὺς μὲν
καὶ ποικίλους διέθετο λόγους· καὶ <γὰρ> ἦν ὁ
4 ἄνθρωπος ἔχων τι νουνεχὲς καὶ πειστικόν· μόγις
δὲ καθίκετο τῆς προθέσεως καὶ μετεκάλεσε τὸν
Ἄτταλον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλόγου φορᾶς, θεὶς ὑπὸ τὴν
ὄψιν ὅτι κατὰ μὲν τὸ παρὸν συμβασιλεύει τἀ-
δελφῷ, τούτῳ διαφέρων ἐκείνου τῷ μὴ διάδημα
5 περιτίθεσθαι μηδὲ χρηματίζειν βασιλεύς, τὴν δὲ
λοιπὴν ἴσην καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχων ἐξουσίαν, εἰς
δὲ τὸ μέλλον ὁμολογουμένως καταλείπεται διά-

Perseus and watching for a reverse in their fortunes, some of the most distinguished of them in private conversation with Attalus advised him to throw up his mission on behalf of his brother and to speak on his own behalf; for the senate, they said, wished to create a separate kingdom for him, owing to their hostility to his brother. Attalus's ambition was much aroused by this, and in private conversation he was disposed to yield to the advice of those who urged him to act so. Finally he even entered into an agreement with some personages of importance to come before the senate and address that body on the subject.

2. Such being Attalus's state of mind, the king, who had divined what would happen, sent his physician Stratius, in whom he placed great confidence, to Rome, both furnishing him with suggestions and giving him positive orders to adopt every device to prevent Attalus from following the advice of those who wished to ruin their kingdom. Upon his arrival in Rome, he had a private interview with Attalus and reasoned with him at length, employing various arguments; for he was a man of good sense and persuasive power. With difficulty he attained his purpose and made Attalus renounce his foolish project, by representing to him that for the present he shared the throne with his brother, differing from him only in this that he did not wear a crown and had not the title of king, but otherwise having equal and in fact identical power; while as to the future he was the undisputed successor to the

δοχος τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐ μακρὰν ταύτης <τῆς> ἐλπίδος
ὑπαρχούσης, ἅτε τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ μὲν τὴν σω-
ματικὴν ἀσθένειαν αἰεὶ προσδοκῶντος τὴν ἐκ τοῦ
βίου μετάστασιν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπαιδίαν οὐδ' εἰ
βουληθείη δυναμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄλλῳ καταλιπεῖν·
6 οὐδέπω γὰρ ἀναδεδειγμένος ἐτύγχανεν κατὰ φύσιν
υἱὸς ὢν αὐτῷ ὁ μετὰ ταῦτα διαδεξάμενος τὴν
7 ἀρχήν. τὸ δὲ συνέχον, θαυμάζειν ἔφη πόσα
8 βλάπτει τοὺς ἐνεστῶτας καιρούς. μεγάλην γὰρ
δεῖν ἔχειν πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς χάριν, εἰ συμπνεύσαντες
καὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ χρώμενοι δύναιντο τὸν ἀπὸ Γαλατῶν
φόβον ἀπώσασθαι καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τούτων ἐφεστῶτα
9 κίνδυνον. εἰ δὲ νῦν εἰς στάσιν καὶ διαφορὰν
ἥξει πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν, πρόδηλον εἶναι διότι
καταστρέψει τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ στερήσει μὲν
αὑτὸν καὶ τῆς παρούσης ἐξουσίας καὶ τῆς εἰς
τὸ μέλλον ἐλπίδος, στερήσει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελ-
φοὺς τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῇ δυναστείας.
10 ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τούτοις ἕτερα παραπλήσια δια-
τιθέμενος ὁ Στρατίος ἔπεισε τὸν Ἄτταλον μένειν
ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων.

3 Διόπερ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ὁ προ-
ειρημένος συνεχάρη μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν καὶ
περὶ τῆς καθ' αὑτὸν εὐνοίας καὶ προθυμίας, ἣν
παρέσχετο κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Περσέα πόλεμον,
2 ἀπελογίσατο· παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ
πέμψαι πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς παρακαθέξοντας τὴν
τῶν Γαλατῶν ἀπόνοιαν καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
αὐτοὺς ἀποκαταστήσοντας διάθεσιν παρεκάλεσε
3 διὰ πλειόνων. ἐποιήσατο δὲ λόγους καὶ περὶ
τῆς Αἰνίων καὶ τῆς Μαρωνειτῶν πόλεως, ἀξιῶν
4 αὐτῷ δοθῆναι ταύτας ἐν δωρεᾷ. τὸν δὲ κατὰ

throne, and his hopes were not likely to be long deferred, as the king, owing to his infirm health, was in constant expectation of death, and, owing to his childlessness, could not, even if he wished, leave his kingdom to anyone else—the actual successor not having yet been recognized by him as his real son. And above all he said it surprised him that Attalus should do a thing so injurious under present circumstances. They should surely give great thanks to all the gods if by agreement and unity of action they could ward off the Galatian peril and the danger that threatened them from that quarter. But if now he proceeded to quarrel with his brother, it was evident that he would ruin the kingdom and deprive himself both of his present power and his hope of future power, while at the same time depriving both brothers of the kingdom and the authority they exercised within its boundaries. By these and similar arguments Stratius succeeded in persuading Attalus to leave things alone.

3. Attalus therefore on entering the Curia congratulated the senate on all that had happened and solicited their favour in return for his kind offices and ready assistance in the war with Perseus. He also at some length begged them to send legates to check the desperate revolt of Galatia and restore the former submissive temper of that province. He also spoke about Aenus and Maronea, asking for these towns to be freely granted to him. As

τοῦ βασιλέως λόγον καὶ τὸν περὶ τοῦ μερισμοῦ
5 τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς τέλος παρεσιώπησεν. ἡ δὲ σύγ-
κλητος ὑπολαμβάνουσα πάλιν αὐτὸν ἰδίᾳ περὶ
τούτων εἰσπορεύσεσθαι, τούς τε πρεσβευτὰς συμ-
πέμψειν ὑπέσχετο καὶ τοῖς εἰθισμένοις δώροις
ἐτίμησεν αὐτὸν μεγαλομερῶς· ἐπηγγείλατο δὲ
6 καὶ τὰς προειρημένας πόλεις δώσειν. ἐπειδὴ
δὲ παραυτὰ τυχὼν τῶν φιλανθρώπων ὥρμησεν
ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης οὐδὲν ποιήσας τῶν προσδοκω-
μένων, διαψευσθεῖσα τῶν ἐλπίδων ἡ σύγκλητος
7 ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν εἶχε ποιεῖν, ἔτι δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰτα-
λίαν ὄντος αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν Αἶνον καὶ τὴν Μαρώ-
νειαν ἠλευθέρωσεν, ἀθετήσασα τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν,
τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον Λικίννιον ἔπεμψε
πρεσβευτὰς πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας. οἷς ποίας μὲν
8 ἔδωκεν ἐντολὰς εἰπεῖν οὐ ῥᾴδιον, στοχάζεσθαι
δ᾽ ἐκ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα συμβάντων οὐ δυσχερές.
9 τοῦτο δ᾽ ἔσται δῆλον ἐκ τῶν πράξεων αὐτῶν.
4 Ἧκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ Ῥοδίων πρέσβεις, πρῶτον
μὲν οἱ περὶ Φιλοκράτην, μετὰ δὲ τούτους οἱ
2 περὶ Φιλόφρονα καὶ Ἀστυμήδην· οἱ γὰρ Ῥόδιοι
κομισάμενοι τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ἣν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀγέ-
πολιν ἔλαβον εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν παράταξιν, καὶ
θεωροῦντες ἐκ ταύτης τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὀργὴν
καὶ τὴν ἀνάτασιν τῆς συγκλήτου παραυτίκα τὰς
3 προειρημένας πρεσβείας ἐξέπεμψαν. οἱ δὲ περὶ
τὸν Ἀστυμήδην καὶ Φιλόφρονα κατανοοῦντες
ἐκ τῶν ἐντεύξεων καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν τὴν
ὑφόρασιν καὶ τὴν ἀλλοτριότητα τῶν ἀνθρώπων
τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀθυμίαν ὁλοσχερῆ καὶ δυσ-
4 χρηστίαν ἐνέπιπτον. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατη-
γῶν τις ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐμβόλους παρεκάλει

to what he had been about to say against Eumenes and about the division of the kingdom he did not utter a word. The senate, supposing that he would appear again and make a special speech about these matters, promised to send legates back with him, and voted on a lavish scale the customary gifts in his honour. They also promised to give him the two towns in question. But when, after receiving all these kindnesses, he left Rome without doing any of the things they expected, the senate, disabused of their hopes, could take no further action; but while he was still in Italy set free Aenus and Maronea, thus breaking their promise, but dispatched Publius Licinius Crassus as their legate to Galatia. It is difficult to state what instructions they gave this legate, but from what happened afterwards it is easy to guess what they were, as will be evident when I come to narrate the events.

4. Envoys also came from Rhodes, first Philocrates and next Philophron and Astymedes. For the Rhodians, on receiving the answer given to Hagepolis just after the battle of Pydna and seeing from this the angry and threatening attitude of the senate towards them, at once sent off these two embassies. Astymedes and Philophron, noticing from the reception they met with both in public and in private the suspicion and hostility with which they were regarded, fell into a state of utter despondency and helplessness. And when one of the praetors mounted the rostra and urged the people

τοὺς ὄχλους ἐπὶ τὸν κατὰ Ῥοδίων πόλεμον,
5 τότε δὴ παντάπασιν ἔξω τοῦ φρονεῖν γενόμενοι
διὰ τὸν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος κίνδυνον εἰς τοιαύτην
ἦλθον διάθεσιν ὥστε καὶ φαιὰ λαβεῖν ἱμάτια καὶ
κατὰ τὰς παρακλήσεις μηκέτι παρακαλεῖν μηδ'
ἀξιοῦν τοὺς φίλους, ἀλλὰ δεῖσθαι μετὰ δα-
κρύων μηδὲν ἀνήκεστον βουλεύσασθαι περὶ αὑτῶν.
6 μετὰ δέ τινας ἡμέρας εἰσαγαγόντος αὐτοὺς Ἀν-
τωνίου τοῦ δημάρχου, <τοῦ> καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν
τὸν παρακαλοῦντα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κατασπά-
σαντος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων, ἐποιεῖτο τοὺς λόγους
πρῶτον μὲν Φιλόφρων, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἀστυ-
7 μήδης. ὅτε δὴ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν τὸ κύκνειον
ἐξηχήσαντες ἔλαβον ἀποκρίσεις τοιαύτας, δι' ὧν
τοῦ μὲν ὁλοσχεροῦς φόβου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν πόλε-
8 μον ἐδόκουν παραλελύσθαι, περὶ δὲ τῶν κατὰ
μέρος ἐγκλημάτων αὐτοῖς ἡ σύγκλητος πικρῶς
9 καὶ βαρέως ὠνείδισεν. ἦν δ' ὁ νοῦς τῆς ἀπο-
κρίσεως τοιοῦτος, ὅτι εἰ μὴ δι' ὀλίγους ἀνθρώ-
πους τοὺς αὐτῶν φίλους, καὶ μάλιστα δι' αὐτούς,
ᾔδεισαν καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ὡς δέον ἦν αὐτοῖς
10 χρήσασθαι. ὁ δ' Ἀστυμήδης αὐτῷ μὲν ἐδόκει
καλῶς εἰρηκέναι περὶ τῆς πατρίδος, οὐ μὴν τοῖς
γε παρεπιδημοῦσιν οὐδὲ τοῖς οἴκοι μένουσιν
11 τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐδαμῶς ἤρεσκεν. ἐξέβαλε γὰρ
ἔγγραπτον μετὰ ταῦτα ποιήσας τὴν σύνταξιν τῆς
δικαιολογίας, ἣ τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ἀναλαμβα-
νόντων εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ἄτοπος ἐφαίνετο καὶ τε-
12 λέως ἀπίθανος. συνεστήσατο γὰρ τὴν δικαιο-
λογίαν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν τῆς πατρίδος δικαίων,
13 ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων κατηγορίας. τὰ
μὲν γὰρ εὐεργετήματα καὶ συνεργήματα παρα-

to declare war on Rhodes, then, entirely losing their senses owing to the danger in which their country stood, they were in such a state of distress that they put on mourning and in seeking the aid of their friends no longer begged for it or asked for it, but implored them in tears not to resort to extreme measures against Rhodes. A few days afterwards, when they were introduced to the senate by the tribune Antonius, who had previously dragged down from the rostra the praetor who was inciting the people to make war, Philophron was the first to speak, and was followed by Astymedes. On this occasion after singing the dying swan's song, as the saying is, they received an answer which relieved indeed their extreme apprehension of war, but in it the senate reproached them bitterly and severely for the several offences with which they were charged. The sense of the answer was that, had it not been for a few men who were their friends, and especially had it not been for their own conduct, they would have known well as they richly deserved what was the treatment proper for them. Astymedes, in his own opinion, had spoken well in defence of his country, but his speech by no means pleased the Greeks resident in Rome nor those at home. For he afterwards wrote out and published his defence, and most of those who perused it thought it strange and quite unconvincing, inasmuch as he had drawn it up relying not so much on the rights of his country, as on the accusations he brought against others. In comparing and judging the relative values of kindnesses and assistance rendered to the Romans, he

βάλλων καὶ συγκρίνων τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπει-
ρᾶτο ψευδοποιεῖν καὶ ταπεινοῦν, τὰ δὲ τῶν
Ῥοδίων ηὔξανε, πολλαπλασιάζων καθ' ὅσον οἷός
14 τ' ἦν· τὰ δ' ἁμαρτήματα κατὰ τοὐναντίον τὰ μὲν
τῶν ἄλλων ἐξωνείδιζε πικρῶς καὶ δυσμενικῶς,
τὰ δὲ τῶν Ῥοδίων ἐπειρᾶτο περιστέλλειν, ἵνα
κατὰ τὴν παράθεσιν τὰ μὲν οἰκεῖα μικρὰ καὶ
συγγνώμης ἄξια φανῇ, τὰ δὲ τῶν πέλας μεγάλα
καὶ ἀπαραίτητα τελέως, ἐφ' οἷς ἔφη συγγνώμης
15 τετευχέναι τοὺς ἡμαρτηκότας ἅπαντας. τὸ δὲ
γένος τοῦτο τῆς δικαιολογίας οὐδαμῶς ἂν πρέ-
16 πειν ἀνδρὶ πολιτικῷ δόξειεν, ἐπείτοι καὶ τῶν
κοινοπραγησάντων περί τινων ἀπορρήτων οὐ τοὺς
διὰ φόβον ἢ πόρον μηνυτὰς γενομένους τῶν συν-
ειδότων ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πᾶσαν ἐπιδεξα-
μένους βάσανον καὶ τιμωρίαν καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν
συνειδότων παραιτίους γενομένους τῆς αὐτῆς
συμφορᾶς, τούτους ἀποδεχόμεθα καὶ τούτους ἄν-
17 δρας ἀγαθοὺς νομίζομεν. ὁ δὲ διὰ τὸν ἄδηλον
φόβον πάντα τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἁμαρτήματα τιθεὶς
ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν τοῖς κρατοῦσιν καὶ καινοποιήσας,
ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ χρόνος εἰς λήθην ἀγηόχει τοὺς ὑπερ-
έχοντας, πῶς οὐκ ἔμελλε δυσαρεστήσειν τοῖς
ἱστορήσασιν;

5 Τὴν δὲ προειρημένην ἀπόκρισιν οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν
Φιλοκράτην λαβόντες ἐξ αὐτῆς ὥρμησαν, οἱ δὲ
περὶ τὸν <Φιλόφρονα καὶ> Ἀστυμήδην αὐτόθι
μένοντες παρήδρευον χάριν τοῦ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς
λανθάνειν τῶν προσπιπτόντων ἢ λεγομένων κατὰ
2 τῆς πατρίδος. προσπεσούσης δὲ τῆς ἀπο-
κρίσεως ταύτης εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον, δόξαντες ἀπολε-
λύσθαι τοῦ μεγίστου φόβου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον,

attempted to discredit and belittle the services of other states, while he magnified those of Rhodes, exaggerating them as much as he could. In regard to offences, on the contrary, he condemned those of others in a bitter and hostile spirit, but tried to cloak those of Rhodes, so that when compared the offences of Rhodes might seem to be small and deserving of pardon, but those of her neighbours great and quite inexpiable, although, as he said, the offenders had all been pardoned. Such a kind of justification, I think, is by no means becoming in a politician, since surely in the case of men who have taken part in secret designs we do not praise those who either from fear or for money turn informers and betray confidences, but we applaud and regard as brave men those who endure the extremity of torture and punishment without being the cause of similar suffering to their accomplices. How then could those who heard of it fail to disapprove the conduct of a man who for fear of an uncertain danger revealed to the ruling power and published all the errors of others, errors which time had already veiled from the eyes of their masters?

5. Philocrates, on receiving the above answer, at once left, but Philophron and Astymedes remained to be on the watch, so that nothing that was reported or said against their country should escape them. When the terms of the answer were announced in Rhodes, the people, thinking that they had been relieved of their greatest fear, that of war, bore

τἄλλα καίπερ ἀκμὴν ὄντα δυσχερῆ ῥᾳδίως ἔφερον.
3 οὕτως αἰεὶ τὰ μείζω τῶν προσδοκωμένων κακῶν
4 λήθην ποιεῖ τῶν ἐλαττόνων συμπτωμάτων. διὸ καὶ παραχρῆμα ψηφισάμενοι τῇ Ῥώμῃ στέφανον ἀπὸ μυρίων χρυσῶν καὶ καταστήσαντες πρεσβευτὴν ἅμα καὶ ναύαρχον Θεαίδητον ἐξέπεμπον θερείας ἀρχομένης ἄγοντα τὸν στέφανον καὶ μετὰ τούτου τοὺς περὶ Ῥοδοφῶντα, πειρασομένους κατὰ πάντα τρόπον συμμαχίαν συνθέσθαι
5 πρὸς Ῥωμαίους. τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐποίησαν βουλόμενοι διὰ τοῦ ψηφίσματος καὶ πρεσβείας ἀποτυχεῖν, ἐὰν ἄλλως δόξῃ Ῥωμαίοις, δι᾽ αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς τοῦ ναυάρχου προαιρέσεως τὴν κατάπειραν ποιήσασθαι· τὴν γὰρ ἐξουσίαν εἶχε ταύτην ὁ ναύαρχος
6 ἐκ τῶν νόμων. οὕτως γὰρ ἦν πραγματικὸν τὸ πολίτευμα τῶν Ῥοδίων ὡς σχεδὸν ἔτη τετταράκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν κεκοινωνηκὼς ὁ δῆμος Ῥωμαίοις τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων καὶ καλλίστων ἔργων οὐκ ἐπεποίητο πρὸς αὐτοὺς συμμαχίαν.
7 τίνος δὲ χάριν οὕτως ἐχείριζον οἱ Ῥόδιοι τὰ καθ᾽
8 αὑτοὺς οὐκ ἄξιον παραλιπεῖν. βουλόμενοι γὰρ μηδένα τῶν ἐν ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς καὶ δυναστείαις ἀπελπίζειν τὴν ἐξ αὑτῶν ἐπικουρίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν, οὐκ ἐβούλοντο συνδυάζειν οὐδὲ προκαταλαμβάνειν σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὅρκοις καὶ συνθήκαις, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκέραιοι διαμένοντες κερδαίνειν τὰς ἐξ
9 ἑκάστων ἐλπίδας. τότε δὲ μεγάλην ἐποιοῦντο φιλοτιμίαν, βουλόμενοι ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς τυχεῖν παρὰ Ῥωμαίων, οὐ κατεπειγόμενοι συμμαχίας οὐδ᾽ ἀγωνιῶντες ἁπλῶς οὐδένα κατὰ τὸ παρὸν
10 πλὴν αὐτῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλὰ βουλόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰς

the other demands, galling as they were, with equanimity. And so it ever is that the greater the evils we expect, the more easily we forget lesser misfortunes. So they at once voted a crown[a] of ten thousand gold pieces to Rome, and, appointing Theaedetus ambassador and admiral, sent him off in early summer with the crown accompanied by Rhodophon to try by every means to make an alliance with Rome. This they did with the object, in case the Romans did not consent and the decree of the crown and their embassy were a failure,[b] of attempting to gain their end by the personal action of the admiral; for by their laws he was, as admiral, empowered to act in such matters. For the policy of Rhodes had been so little dictated by sentiment, that although that state had for nearly a hundred and forty years taken part in the most glorious and finest achievements of the Romans, they had never made an alliance with Rome. The reason of their action in this respect should not be ignored. It was this. As they wished none of the kings and princes to despair of gaining their help and alliance, they did not desire to run in harness with Rome and engage themselves by oaths and treaties, but preferred to remain unembarrassed and able to reap profit from any quarter. But now they were most energetic in their efforts to obtain this distinction from Rome, not standing in urgent need of the alliance or fearing in the very least any other power except Rome alone for the present, but wishing by insistence on this project to free themselves from

[a] *i.e.* a complimentary present offered to the goddess "Roma."

[b] There is something amiss with the text, but the sense required is what I give.

ὑπονοίας τῶν δυσχερές τι διανοουμένων περὶ τῆς
11 πόλεως. ἄρτι δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν Θεαίδητον κατα-
πεπλευκότων, ἀπέστησαν Καύνιοι, κατελάβοντο
12 δὲ καὶ Μυλασεῖς τὰς ἐν Εὐρώμῳ πόλεις. κατὰ
δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐξέβαλε δόγμα
διότι δεῖ Κᾶρας καὶ Λυκίους ἐλευθέρους εἶναι
πάντας, ὅσους προσένειμε Ῥοδίοις μετὰ τὸν
13 Ἀντιοχικὸν πόλεμον. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τοὺς
Καυνίους καὶ τοὺς Εὐρωμεῖς ταχέως οἱ Ῥόδιοι
14 διωρθώσαντο· τοὺς μὲν <γὰρ> Καυνίους Λύκωνα
πέμψαντες μετὰ στρατιωτῶν ἠνάγκασαν πάλιν
15 ὑφ' αὑτοὺς τάττεσθαι, καίπερ Κιβυρατῶν αὐτοῖς
παραβοηθησάντων, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ἐν Εὐρώμῳ πόλεις
στρατεύσαντες ἐνίκησαν μάχῃ Μυλασεῖς καὶ Ἀλα-
βανδεῖς, ἀμφοτέρων παραγενομένων μετὰ στρα-
16 τιᾶς ἐπ' Ὀρθωσίαν. τοῦ δὲ περὶ τῶν Λυκίων
καὶ Καρῶν δόγματος αὐτοῖς προσπεσόντος, πάλιν
ἀπεσοβήθησαν ταῖς διανοίαις, δείσαντες μή ποτε
μάταιος μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡ τοῦ στεφάνου δόσις γέγονε,
μάταιοι δ' αἱ περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας ἐλπίδες.

II. Res Graeciae

6 Ὅτι φησὶ Πολύβιος· πρότερον ἐπιστήσαντες
τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας ἐπὶ τὴν περὶ Δείνωνος καὶ
2 Πολυαράτου διάληψιν· μεγάλης γὰρ οὔσης τῆς
περιστάσεως καὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς οὐ μόνον παρὰ
τοῖς Ῥοδίοις, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἁπάσαις ταῖς πολιτείαις,
3 χρήσιμον ἂν εἴη τὸ τὰς προαιρέσεις τῶν παρ'
ἑκάστοις πολιτευομένων ἐπισκέψασθαι καὶ γνῶναι
τίνες φανήσονται τὸ κατὰ λόγον πεποιηκότες καὶ
τίνες παραπεπαικότες τοῦ καθήκοντος, ἵνα οἱ

the suspicions of those who entertained unfriendly ideas about their city. Soon after the arrival of Theaedetus at Rhodes, Caunus revolted, and the people of Mylasa took possession of the cities in Euromus. At the same time the senate issued a consultum setting free all the parts of Caria and Lycia which they had assigned to Rhodes at the time of the war with Antiochus. As for Caunus and Euromus the matter was soon set right by the Rhodians. Dispatching Lycon with troops they compelled the Caunians to submit again to them, although the people of Cibyra came to their help, and making an expedition to the cities in Euromus they defeated the Mylasians and Alabandians, who had both advanced with an armed force to Orthosia. But when they heard of the senatus-consultum about Lycia and Caria they were again alarmed, fearing that their gift of the crown had been made in vain and that their hopes of an alliance were equally vain.

II. Affairs of Greece

Three Classes of Anti-Roman Statesmen

(Cp. Livy xlv. 31. 4; 26. 5.)

6. In the first place I will ask my readers after reflection to pronounce on the conduct of Deinon and Polyaratus. For, as the dangers were then great and the change of circumstances abrupt, not only at Rhodes but in nearly all other states, it will be, I think, of some service to examine into the principles of the leading politicians in each place and decide which of them prove to have acted in a rational manner and which to have failed in their

4 ἐπιγινόμενοι, ὡσανεὶ τύπων ἐκτιθεμένων, δύνων-
ται κατὰ τὰς ὁμοίας περιστάσεις τὰ μὲν αἱρετὰ
διώκειν, τὰ δὲ φευκτὰ φεύγειν ἀληθινῶς, καὶ μὴ
περὶ τὸν ἔσχατον καιρὸν τῆς ζωῆς ἀβλεπτοῦντες
τὸ πρέπον καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ προγεγονότι βίῳ πράξεις
5 αὑτῶν ποιῶσιν. συνέβαινε τοιγαροῦν τρεῖς δια-
φορὰς γενέσθαι τῶν ἐμπεσόντων εἰς τὰς αἰτίας
6 κατὰ τὸν πρὸς Περσέα πόλεμον. ὧν μία μὲν
ἦν τῶν οὐχ ἡδέως μὲν ὁρώντων κρινόμενα τὰ
ὅλα καὶ τὴν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐξουσίαν ὑπὸ μίαν
ἀρχὴν πίπτουσαν, οὔτε δὲ συνεργούντων οὔτ᾽
ἀντιπραττόντων ἁπλῶς Ῥωμαίοις οὐδέν, ἀλλ᾽
οἷον ἐπιτετραφότων τῇ τύχῃ περὶ τῶν ἀποβη-
7 σομένων· ἑτέρα δὲ τῶν ἡδέως ὁρώντων κρινό-
μενα τὰ πράγματα καὶ βουλομένων νικᾶν τὸν
Περσέα, μὴ δυναμένων δὲ συνεπισπᾶσθαι τοὺς
ἰδίους πολίτας καὶ τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς πρὸς τὴν αὑτῶν
8 γνώμην· τρίτη δὲ καὶ τῶν συνεπισπασαμένων
καὶ μεταρριψάντων τὰ πολιτεύματα πρὸς τὴν
7 Περσέως συμμαχίαν. πῶς οὖν ἕκαστοι τούτων
ἐχείρισαν τὰ καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς σκοπεῖν πάρεστιν.
2 μετέρριψαν πρὸς Περσέα τὸ τῶν Μολοττῶν
ἔθνος Ἀντίνους καὶ Θεόδοτος καὶ Κέφαλος
3 μετ᾽ αὐτῶν· <οἱ τῶν πραγμά>των ἀντιπεσόντων
ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς αὐτῶν ὁλοσχερῶς, καὶ περι-
στάντος τοῦ κινδύνου, καὶ συνεγγίζοντος τοῦ
δεινοῦ, πάντες ὁμόσε χωρήσαντες τοῖς παροῦσιν
4 ἀπέθανον γενναίως. διόπερ ἄξιον ἐπαινεῖν τοὺς
ἄνδρας ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ προέσθαι μηδὲ περιιδεῖν σφᾶς
αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀναξίαν διάθεσιν ἐμπεσόντας τοῦ
5 προγεγονότος βίου. καὶ μὴν ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ καὶ
παρὰ Θετταλοῖς καὶ Περραιβοῖς ἔσχον αἰτίαν **καὶ**

duty; so that their successors, with these examples before them, may in similar circumstances be enabled without fail to pursue the course which is desirable and avoid that which is the reverse, and should not, by failing to see at the very end of their lives where the path of honour lies, dishonour all they may have achieved in the past. Now there were three classes of men who were accused for their conduct in the war with Perseus. The first consisted of those who did not indeed view with pleasure the final decision of the struggle and the subjection of the whole world by one power, yet neither supported the Romans in any way nor opposed them, but as it were committed the result to Fortune. The next class was composed of those who were glad to see matters coming to a decisive issue and wished Perseus success, but were unable to impose their views on their fellow-citizens and compatriots. Finally, there were those who did convert their states to their views and involve them in alliance with Perseus. 7. My present object, then, is to inquire how each of these classes handled their respective situations. Antinous, Theodotus, and Cephalus the Molottians involved themselves and their country in alliance with Perseus; and when facts fell out in a manner entirely adverse to their projects, when they stood in imminent danger, and the day of retribution was at hand, they all faced the situation and perished bravely. We should therefore very properly praise these men for not abandoning their principles and permitting themselves to adopt a principle that would give the lie to their previous life. Again in Achaea, Thessaly, and Perrhaebia numerous men were

πλείους διὰ τὴν ἡσυχίαν, ὡς ἐφεδρεύοντες τοῖς
6 καιροῖς καὶ φρονοῦντες τὰ Περσέως. ἀλλ᾽ οὔτε
λόγον ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τοιοῦτον ἐξέβαλον οὔτε γρά-
φοντες οὔτε διαπεμπόμενοι πρὸς τὸν Περσέα
περί τινος ἐφωράθησαν, ἀλλὰ διεφύλαξαν ἀνεπι-
7 λήπτους ἑαυτούς. τοιγαροῦν εἰκότως οὗτοι καὶ
δικαιολογίαν καὶ κρίσιν ὑπέμενον καὶ πάσας
8 ἐξήλεγχον τὰς ἐλπίδας· οὐ γὰρ ἔλαττόν ἐστιν
ἀγεννίας σημεῖον τὸ μηδὲν αὑτῷ συνειδότα μοχ-
θηρὸν προεξάγειν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν αὑτόν, ποτὲ μὲν τὰς
τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων ἀνατάσεις καταπλαγέντα,
ποτὲ δὲ τὴν τῶν κρατούντων ἐξουσίαν, τοῦ παρὰ
τὸ καθῆκον φιλοζωεῖν.

9 Καὶ μὴν ἐν Ῥόδῳ καὶ Κῷ καὶ πλείοσιν ἑτέραις
πόλεσιν ἐγένοντό τινες οἱ φρονοῦντες τὰ Περσέως,
οἳ καὶ λέγειν ἐθάρρουν περὶ Μακεδόνων ἐν τοῖς
ἰδίοις πολιτεύμασι καὶ κατηγορεῖν μὲν Ῥωμαίων
καὶ καθόλου συνίστασθαι πρὸς τὸν Περσέα κοινο-
πραγίαν, οὐ δυνηθέντες δὲ μεταρρῖψαι τὰ πολιτεύ-
10 ματα πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως συμμαχίαν. τού-
των δ᾽ ἦσαν ἐπιφανέστατοι παρὰ μὲν τοῖς Κῴοις
Ἱππόκριτος καὶ Διομέδων ἀδελφοί, παρὰ δὲ
8 Ῥοδίοις Δείνων καὶ Πολυάρατος. ὧν τίς οὐκ
ἂν καταμέμψαιτο τὴν προαίρεσιν; οἳ πρῶτον
μὲν τοὺς πολίτας συνίστορας ἔχοντες πάντων
τῶν σφίσι πεπραγμένων καὶ τῶν εἰρημένων,
ἔπειτα δὲ τῶν γραμμάτων ἑαλωκότων καὶ πεφω-
τισμένων καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Περσέως πρὸς ἐκεί-
νους διαπεμπομένων καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Περσέα παρ᾽
2 ἐκείνων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑποχειρίων
γεγονότων τῶν διαπεμπομένων παρ᾽ ἑκατέρων
καὶ πρὸς ἑκατέρους, οὐχ οἷοί τ᾽ ἦσαν εἴκειν οὐδ᾽

accused, owing to their inaction, of awaiting the development of circumstances and being favourably inclined to Perseus; but they were never convicted of having given expression to such sentiments either by writing to Perseus or communicating with him about any matter, and they gave no handle to anyone to accuse them. They were therefore justified in standing on their defence in submitting to trial, and employing every means to save themselves; for to put an end to one's life when one is not conscious of having done anything unworthy simply from fear of the threats of political opponents or the power of the conquerors is no less a sign of cowardice than to cling to life at the sacrifice of honour.

But again in Rhodes, in Cos, and in several other cities there were some among those who sided with Perseus who had the courage to speak about the Macedonians in their cities, to accuse the Romans and to recommend unity of action with Perseus, but who proved incapable of persuading their countries to ally themselves with the king. Of these men the most distinguished in Cos were the brothers Hippocritus and Diomedon, and in Rhodes Deinon and Polyaratus. 8. Their course was one that no one can avoid condemning. In the first place their fellow-citizens were cognisant of all they had done and said; next both the letters of Perseus to them and theirs to him had been captured and published, and the emissaries employed on both sides had fallen into the hands of the Romans: and yet they could not resolve

ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖν ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ' ἀκμὴν ἡμφι-
3 σβήτουν. τοιγαροῦν προσκαρτεροῦντες καὶ φιλο-
ζωοῦντες πρὸς ἀπεγνωσμένας ἐλπίδας καὶ τὸ
δοκοῦν εἶναι περὶ αὐτοὺς τολμηρὸν καὶ παρά-
βολον ἀνέτρεψαν, ὥστε παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις
μηδ' ἔσχατον ἐλέῳ καὶ συγγνώμῃ τόπον κατα-
4 λιπεῖν. ἐλεγχόμενοι γὰρ κατὰ πρόσωπον ὑπὸ
τῶν ἰδίων χειρογράφων καὶ τῶν ὑπουργῶν οὐ
μόνον ἀτυχεῖν, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἀναισχυντεῖν ἔδοξαν.
5 Θόας γάρ τις ἦν τῶν πλοϊζομένων, ὃς καὶ πολ-
λάκις εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπεπλεύκει, διαπ-
6 εσταλμένος ὑπὸ τῶν προειρημένων. οὗτος ἐν τῇ
μεταβολῇ τῶν πραγμάτων συνειδὼς αὑτῷ τὰ
πεπραγμένα, δείσας ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Κνίδον.
τῶν δὲ Κνιδίων αὐτὸν εἰς φυλακὴν ἀποθεμένων,
ἐξαιτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥοδίων ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον.
7 κἀκεῖ διὰ τῶν βασάνων ἐλεγχόμενος ἀνθωμο-
λογεῖτο καὶ σύμφωνος ἦν πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκ τῶν αἰχ-
μαλώτων γραμμάτων συνθήμασιν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ταῖς παρά τε τοῦ Περσέως ἀπο-
στελλομέναις πρὸς τὸν Δείνωνα <καὶ Πολυά-
8 ρατον> καὶ παρὰ τούτων πρὸς ἐκεῖνον. ἐξ ὧν
θαυμάζειν ἦν τίνι ποτὲ λογισμῷ χρώμενος ὁ Δεί-
νων προσανεῖχε τῷ ζῆν καὶ τὸν παραδειγματισμὸν
ὑπέμενε τοῦτον.

9 Πολὺ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἀβουλίαν καὶ κατὰ τὴν
ἀγεννίαν ὁ Πολυάρατος ὑπερέθετο τὸν Δείνωνα.
2 τοῦ γὰρ Ποπιλίου προστάξαντος Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ
βασιλεῖ τὸν Πολυάρατον ἀναπέμπειν εἰς τὴν
Ῥώμην, ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην οὐκ
ἔκρινε πέμπειν, ἐντρεπόμενος τὴν πατρίδα καὶ
τὸν Πολυάρατον, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥόδον ἀποστέλλειν

to yield to facts and remove themselves but still continued to dispute. Therefore by thus obstinately clinging to life in face of this desperate position, they so far annihilated their reputation for daring and venturesomeness, that they did not leave to posterity the slightest ground for pitying or pardoning them. For, convicted as they were to their faces by their own handwriting and their own emissaries, they were considered not so much to be unfortunate, as to be unabashed. There was in fact a certain ship captain called Thoas, who had made frequent voyages to Macedonia commissioned by these men. This Thoas, at the time when the change in the situation took place, feeling the burden of what he had done weigh on his conscience, left for Cnidus. There the Cnidians put him in prison, and upon the Rhodians demanding his extradition he came to Rhodes, and there when put to the torture made full confession in agreement with the interpretation of the whole cypher used in the captured correspondence and with the reading of the letters sent by Perseus to Deinon and Polyaratus and theirs to the king. This makes one wonder on what Deinon calculated in clinging to life and enduring this exposure.

9. But Polyaratus much surpassed Deinon in stupidity and cowardice. For when Popilius ordered King Ptolemy to send Polyaratus to Rome, the king did not think it fit to send him to Rome out of regard for Polyaratus himself and his country, but decided to send him to Rhodes, as Polyaratus had himself

3 διέλαβε, κἀκείνου τοῦτο παρακαλοῦντος. παρα-
στήσας οὖν λέμβον καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτὸν Δημη-
τρίῳ τινὶ τῶν φίλων ἐξαπέστειλεν. ἔγραφε δὲ
4 καὶ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκπομπῆς. ὁ δὲ
Πολυάρατος προσσχὼν Φασηλίδι κατὰ πλοῦν καὶ
διανοηθεὶς ἅττα δή ποτ᾽ οὖν, λαβὼν θαλλοὺς
5 κατέφυγεν ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν ἑστίαν. ὃν εἴ τις
ἤρετο τί βούλεται, πέπεισμαι μηδ᾽ <ἂν> αὐτὸν
ἔχειν εἰπεῖν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα μολεῖν
ἐπεθύμει, τί θαλλῶν ἔδει; τοῦτο γὰρ προὔκειτό
6 που τοῖς ἄγουσιν αὐτόν. εἰ δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην,
καὶ μὴ βουλομένου ᾽κείνου τοῦτ᾽ ἔδει γενέσθαι κατ᾽
ἀνάγκην. τί οὖν κατελείπεθ᾽ ἕτερον; ἄλλος γὰρ
τόπος ὁ δεξόμενος αὐτὸν μετ᾽ ἀσφαλείας οὐκ ἦν.
7 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν Φασηλιτῶν πεμψάντων εἰς τὴν
Ῥόδον καὶ παρακαλούντων κομίζεσθαι καὶ παρα-
λαμβάνειν τὸν Πολυάρατον, νουνεχῶς οἱ Ῥόδιοι
διαλαβόντες ἄφρακτον μὲν ἐξαπέστειλαν τὸ παρα-
8 πέμψον, ἀναλαβεῖν δ᾽ εἰς τὴν ναῦν ἐκώλυσαν τὸν
ἄρχοντα διὰ τὸ προστετάχθαι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξαν-
δρείας εἰς Ῥώμην ἀποκαταστῆσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον.
9 παραγενομένης δὲ τῆς νεὼς εἰς τὴν Φασηλίδα, καὶ
τοῦ μὲν Ἐπιχάρους, ὃς ἦν ἄρχων τῆς νεώς, οὐ
βουλομένου δέχεσθαι τῷ πλοίῳ τὸν ἄνθρωπον,
10 τοῦ <δὲ> Δημητρίου τοῦ προχειρισθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ
βασιλέως διὰ τὴν ἀναπομπὴν κελεύοντος ἀνίστα-
σθαι καὶ πλεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ τῶν Φασηλιτῶν συνεπ-
ισχυόντων αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ δεδιέναι μή τις ἐκ Ῥω-
μαίων σφίσι διὰ ταῦτα μέμψις ἐπακολουθήσῃ,
11 καταπλαγεὶς τὴν περίστασιν ἐνέβη πάλιν τὸν λέμ-
βον πρὸς τὸν Δημήτριον. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἀπόπλουν
12 ἐπιλαβόμενος ἀφορμῆς εὐκαίρου, προσδραμὼν

requested. He therefore procured a galley, and putting him in charge of Demetrius, one of the royal friends, sent him off, having written to inform the Rhodians that he had dispatched him. Polyaratus, when the ship put in to Phaselis on her voyage, with I don't know what notion in his head, took suppliant boughs and sought sanctuary at the common hearth of the town. It seems to me that if anyone had asked him what he wanted, he would not have been able to say himself. For had he wished to go to his country what was the use of the suppliant boughs, as such was the purpose of those who were conveying him? And had he wished to go to Rome, he would perforce have had to do so even had he not wished it. What other alternative then was open to him, there being no other place that could safely receive him? When, however, the Phaselites sent to Rhodes and begged the Rhodians to send to fetch Polyaratus and take him into their hands, the Rhodians, acting with great prudence, dispatched an undecked ship to escort him, but forbade the commander to take him on board, as people in Alexandria had been ordered to present the man at Rome. When the ship arrived at Phaselis and the commander Epichares refused to receive Polyaratus on board, while Demetrius, who had been appointed by the king to convey him bade him leave sanctuary and continue his voyage, the people of Phaselis backing up this demand, as they were afraid that in consequence of this matter they might incur some blame from Rome, Polyaratus, alarmed at his dangerous situation, went on board the galley again to Demetrius, but as they were sailing off availed himself of some plausible excuse to go

κατέφυγε πάλιν εἰς Καῦνον κἀκεῖ παραπλησίως
13 ἐδεῖτο τῶν Καυνίων βοηθεῖν. τούτων δὲ πάλιν
ἀποτριβομένων αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ τάττεσθαι μετὰ
Ῥοδίων, διεπέμπετο πρὸς Κιβυράτας, δεόμενος
αὐτὸν δέξασθαι τῇ πόλει καὶ πέμψαι παραπομπήν.
14 ἔσχε γὰρ ἀφορμὴν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ τεθρά-
φθαι παρ' αὐτῷ τοὺς παῖδας Παγκράτους τοῦ
15 τυράννου. τῶν δὲ πεισθέντων καὶ ποιησάντων
τὰ παρακαλούμενα, παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Κιβύ-
ραν εἰς ἀπορίαν ἐνέβαλεν αὑτόν τε καὶ τοὺς Κι-
βυράτας μείζω τῆς πρότερον, ὅτε παρὰ τοῖς
16 Φασηλίταις ἦν. οὔτε γὰρ ἔχειν παρ' αὑτοῖς
ἐθάρρουν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ δεδιέναι τὸν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων
κίνδυνον, οὔτ' ἀναπέμπειν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐδύναντο
διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἔργων, ἅτε
17 μεσόγαιοι τελέως ὑπάρχοντες. λοιπὸν ἠναγκά-
ζοντο πρεσβεύειν εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον καὶ πρὸς τὸν
στρατηγὸν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἀξιοῦντες παραλαβεῖν
18 τὸν ἄνθρωπον. τοῦ δὲ Λευκίου γράψαντος τοῖς
μὲν Κιβυράταις τηρεῖν ἐπιμελῶς τὸν Πολυάρατον
καὶ κομίζειν εἰς τὴν Ῥόδον, τοῖς δὲ Ῥοδίοις
φροντίζειν τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν παραπομπῆς, ἵνα
μετ' ἀσφαλείας εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀνακομισθῇ,
πειθαρχησάντων δ' ἀμφοτέρων τοῖς γραφομένοις,
19 τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ συνέβη τὸν Πολυάρατον ἐλθεῖν
εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἐκθεατρίσαντα μὲν τὴν ἀβουλίαν
τὴν αὑτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀγεννίαν ἐφ' ὅσον οἷός τ' ἦν,
ἔκδοτον <δὲ> γενόμενον οὐ μόνον παρὰ Πτο-
λεμαίου τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Φασηλιτῶν
καὶ παρὰ Κιβυρατῶν καὶ παρὰ Ῥοδίων διὰ τὴν
ἰδίαν ἄνοιαν.
20 Τίνος οὖν χάριν τὸν πλείω λόγον πεποίημαι

ashore, and again took refuge at Caunus, where likewise he implored the citizens to help him. When they again declined, as they formed part of the Rhodian dominion, he sent messengers to the people of Cibyra imploring them to receive him in their city and to send him an escort—the city being under obligations to him as the sons of their tyrant Pancrates had been brought up in his house—and they consented and did as he requested. By his arrival at Cibyra he placed himself and the people of that town in an even more difficult situation than the former one when he was at Phaselis. For they neither ventured to keep him with them, as they feared danger from Rome, nor could they send him to Rome owing to their ignorance of seamanship, as they were a purely inland people. Consequently they were compelled to send an embassy to Rhodes and another to the proconsul in Macedonia, begging them to take the man off their hands. When Aemilius wrote to the people of Cibyra to place Polyaratus under strict guard and take him to Rhodes, and at the same time to the Rhodians to see that he was properly escorted by sea, so that he might be conveyed safely to Roman territory, and when both requests were complied with, Polyaratus reached Rome in this manner, having made as notable an exhibition as he could of his stupidity and cowardice, and having been surrendered not only by King Ptolemy, but by the Phaselites, Cibyratae, and the Rhodians, all owing to his own folly.

If I am asked why I have dealt at length with the

21 περὶ Πολυαράτου καὶ Δείνωνος; οὐχ ἵνα συνεπεμβαίνειν δόξω ταῖς ἐκείνων ἀτυχίαις. καὶ γὰρ ἄτοπόν γε τοῦτο τελέως· ἀλλ' ἵνα φανερὰν ποιήσας τὴν ἐκείνων ἀβουλίαν βέλτιον παρασκευάσω καὶ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ φρονεῖν τοὺς κατὰ τὰς περιστάσεις <εἰς> παραπλησίους ἐμπίπτοντας καιρούς.

10 Ἐξ ὧν μάλιστα κατίδοι τις ἂν ἅμα τὴν ὀξύτητα
(14) καὶ τὴν ἀβεβαιότητα τῆς τύχης, ὅταν <ἃ> μάλιστ' ἄν τις αὑτοῦ χάριν οἴηται διαπονεῖν, ταῦτα παρὰ πόδας εὑρίσκηται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς κατασκευάζων·
2 κίονας γὰρ κατεσκεύαζε Περσεύς, καὶ ταύτας καταλαβὼν ἀτελεῖς Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος ἐτελείωσε καὶ τὰς ἰδίας εἰκόνας ἐπέστησεν.

3 Ὁ δὲ θαυμάσας τὴν τῆς πόλεως θέσιν καὶ τὴν
(15) τῆς ἀκροπόλεως εὐκαιρίαν πρός τε τοὺς ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτὸς ἀπολαμβανομένους τόπους.

4 Ἐπισημηνάμενος δὲ τοῦ Σικυῶνος τὴν ὀχυρότητα καὶ τὸ βάρος τῆς τῶν Ἀργείων πόλεως ἦλθεν εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον.

5 Πάλαι μετέωρος ὢν πρὸς τὴν τῆς Ὀλυμπίας θέαν ὥρμησε.

case of Polyaratus and Deinon, it was not in order to exult over their misfortunes, which would be indeed outrageous, but that I might by clearly exhibiting their lack of wisdom render such as find themselves placed by circumstance in a similar situation better prepared to act advisedly and wisely.

(Cp. Livy xlv. 27. 7.)

10. We can most clearly perceive both the abruptness and the uncertainty of Fortune from those instances where a man who thinks that he is undoubtedly labouring at certain objects for his own benefit suddenly finds out that he is preparing them for his enemies. For Perseus was constructing columns, and Lucius Aemilius, finding them unfinished, completed them and set statues of himself on them.

Aemilius in the Peloponnese

(Suid. ; cp. Livy xlv. 28. 2.)

He admired the situation of Corinth and the favourable position of its acropolis as regards the command of both districts, that inside the Isthmus and that outside.

(Suid. ; cp. Livy xlv. 28. 3.)

After noting the strength of the fortifications of Sicyon and the power of the city of Argos, he came to Epidaurus.

(Suid. ; cp. Livy xlv. 28. 4.)

He hastened now to pay the visit to Olympia to which he had long looked forward.

6 Πολύβιος· Λεύκιος Αἰμίλιος παρῆν εἰς τὸ τέμενος
τὸ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα θεασάμενος ἐξ-
επλάγη καὶ τοσοῦτον εἶπεν ὅτι μόνος αὐτῷ δοκεῖ
Φειδίας τὸν παρ᾽ Ὁμήρῳ Δία μεμιμῆσθαι, διότι
μεγάλην ἔχων προσδοκίαν τῆς Ὀλυμπίας μείζω τῆς
προσδοκίας εὑρηκὼς εἴη τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

11 Ὅτι Αἰτωλοὶ τὸν βίον ἀπὸ λῃστείας καὶ τῆς
(14) 2 τοιαύτης παρανομίας εἰώθεισαν ἔχειν. καὶ ἕως
μὲν ἐξῆν τοὺς Ἕλληνας φέρειν καὶ λεηλατεῖν, ἐκ
τούτων ἐπορίζοντο τοὺς βίους, πᾶσαν γῆν ἡγού-
3 μενοι πολεμίαν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ῥωμαίων ἐπιστάν-
των τοῖς πράγμασι κωλυθέντες τῆς ἔξωθεν ἐπικου-
4 ρίας εἰς ἑαυτοὺς κατήντησαν. καὶ πρότερον
μὲν κατὰ τὸν ἐμφύλιον πόλεμον οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ τῶν
5 δεινῶν οὐκ ἔπραξαν· βραχεῖ δ᾽ ἀνώτερον χρόνῳ
γεγευμένοι τοῦ φόνου τοῦ κατ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἐν ταῖς
κατὰ τὴν Ἀρσινοΐαν σφαγαῖς ἕτοιμοι πρὸς πᾶν
ἦσαν, ἀποτεθηριωμένοι τὰς ψυχάς, ὥστε μηδὲ
6 βουλὴν διδόναι τοῖς προεστῶσι. διόπερ ἦν ἀκρι-
σίας καὶ παρανομίας καὶ φόνου πλήρη τὰ κατὰ
τὴν Αἰτωλίαν, καὶ τῶν πραττομένων παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς
ἐκ λογισμοῦ μὲν καὶ προθέσεως οὐδὲν ἐπετε-
λεῖτο, πάντα δ᾽ εἰκῇ καὶ φύρδην ἐπράττετο,
καθαπερεὶ λαίλαπός τινος ἐμπεπτωκυίας εἰς αὐ-
τούς.

(Suid.; cp. Livy xlv. 28. 5.)

Lucius Aemilius visited the temple in Olympia, and when he saw the statue of Zeus was awestruck, and said simply that Pheidias seemed to him to have been the only artist who had made a likeness of Homer's Zeus; for he himself had come to Olympia with high expectations but the reality had far surpassed his expectations.

State of Aetolia

(Cp. Livy xlv. 28. 6.)

11. The Aetolians were accustomed to get their living by robbery and similar lawless conduct. And as long as it was in their power to raid and plunder the Greeks they lived upon them, regarding every country as an enemy. But afterwards under Roman administration they were prevented from supplying their wants from outside, and had to turn upon each other. Formerly in time of civil war, there was no excess of which they had not been guilty, and having a short time previously tasted each others blood in the massacres in the territory of Arsinoë, they were prepared to stick at nothing, having become utterly brutalized, so that they did not even allow their leading men to meet in council. Thus the whole of Aetolia was full of turbulence, lawless violence, and bloodshed; not one of their actions being the result of deliberation and set purpose, but all done at haphazard and confusedly, as if a whirlwind had descended on them.

12 Ὅτι οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἤπειρον παραπλήσια τούτοις
(14) 2 ἔπραττον. ἐφ' ὅσον γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀν-
θρώπων μετριώτεροι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Αἰτωλίαν
ἦσαν, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὁ προεστὼς αὐτῶν ἀσεβέ-
στερος καὶ παρανομώτερος ὑπῆρχε τῶν ἄλλων.
3 δοκῶ γὰρ μὴ γεγονέναι μηδ' ἔσεσθαι θηριωδέ-
στερον ἄνθρωπον μηδ' σκαιότερον Χάροπος.

13 Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Περσέως κατάλυσιν ἅμα τῷ
(10) κριθῆναι τὰ ὅλα πανταχόθεν ἐξέπεμπον πρέσβεις
συγχαρησομένους τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγο-
2 νόσιν. τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων ὁλοσχερῶς ἐπὶ Ῥω-
μαίους κεκλικότων, ἐπιπολάζοντες διὰ τὸν καιρὸν
οἱ δοκοῦντες εἶναι φίλοι Ῥωμαίων ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς
πολιτεύμασιν, εἴς τε τὰς πρεσβείας οὗτοι καθ-
3 ίσταντο καὶ τὰς ἄλλας χρείας. διὸ συνέδραμον
εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐκ μὲν Ἀχαΐας Καλλικράτης,
4 Ἀριστόδαμος, Ἀγησίας, Φίλιππος, ἐκ δὲ Βοιω-
τίας οἱ περὶ Μνάσιππον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας
οἱ περὶ Χρέμαν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν οἱ περὶ
τὸν Χάροπα καὶ Νικίαν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν
5 οἱ περὶ τὸν Λυκίσκον καὶ Τίσιππον. ἁπάντων
δὲ τούτων ὁμοῦ γενομένων καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν
ὑπόθεσιν ἁμιλλωμένων προθύμως, καὶ μηδενὸς
ὑπάρχοντος ἀνταγωνιστοῦ διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἀντιπολι-
τευομένους ἅπαντας εἴκοντας τοῖς καιροῖς ἀνα-
κεχωρηκέναι τελέως, ἀκονιτὶ κατεκράτησαν τῆς
6 ὑποθέσεως οἱ προειρημένοι. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὰς
ἄλλας πόλεις καὶ τὰς ἐθνικὰς συστάσεις οἱ δέκα
δι' αὐτῶν τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἐπι-
ταγήν, οὓς δεήσει πορεύεσθαι τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰς
7 τὴν Ῥώμην. οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν ὡς ἐπίπαν οὓς

And of Epirus

12. The Epirots behaved in very much the same way. For while the majority of the people were more orderly than the Aetolians, their chief magistrate just so far exceeded all other men in contempt for divine and human law. For I think there never was and never will be a man more brutal and more unprincipled than Charops.

Congratulatory Embassies

(Cp. Livy xlv. 31. 6.)

13. After the fall of Perseus, matters being now finally decided, embassies from all parts were being sent to congratulate the senate on the event. Now that things had turned out entirely in favour of the Romans, those who were considered to be the friends of Rome came to the front owing to circumstances in all the states, and it was they who were appointed to these embassies or other posts. In consequence those who flocked to Macedonia were Callicrates, Aristodamus, Agesias and Philippus from Achaea, Mnasippus from Boeotia, Chremas from Acarnania, Charops and Nicias from Epirus, and Lyciscus and Tisippus from Aetolia. As all these men joined together and vied with each other in working for the same end and met with no opposition, all their political opponents having yielded to circumstances and entirely retired from politics, they attained their end without trouble. The ten legates conveyed through the strategi themselves their orders to the other cities and national leagues as to which of the envoys should proceed to Rome, these

ἀπέγραψαν οἱ προειρημένοι κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας ἀντι-
παραγωγάς, πλὴν ὀλίγων τελέως τῶν ἔκδηλόν
8 τι πεποιηκότων. πρὸς δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
ἔθνος πρεσβευτὰς ἐξέπεμψαν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστά-
τους ἄνδρας τῶν δέκα, Γάιον Κλαύδιον καὶ Γνάιον
9 Δομέτιον, διὰ δύ' αἰτίας, πρῶτον μὲν εὐλαβού-
μενοι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μή ποτ' οὐ πειθαρχήσωσι
τοῖς γραφομένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κινδυνεύσωσιν οἱ
περὶ τὸν Καλλικράτην, δόξαντες ἐξειργάσθαι τὰς
10 κατὰ πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων διαβολάς, ὃ κατ'
ἀλήθειαν ἦν, δεύτερον δὲ διὰ τὸ μηθὲν ἐν τοῖς
αἰχμαλώτοις γράμμασιν ἀκριβὲς εὑρῆσθαι κατὰ
11 μηδενὸς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων
μετά τινα χρόνον ἐξέπεμπεν ὁ στρατηγὸς τὰς
ἐπιστολὰς καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις, καίπερ οὐκ εὐδο-
κούμενος κατά γε τὴν αὑτοῦ γνώμην ταῖς τῶν
περὶ τὸν Λυκίσκον καὶ Καλλικράτην διαβολαῖς,
ὡς ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων ὕστερον ἐγένετο
καταφανές.

14 Ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς ψυχῆς ἐστιν ἀγῶνάς τε δια-
(15) τίθεσθαι καλῶς καὶ παρασκευὴν καὶ πότον μεγα-
λομερῆ χειρίσαι δεόντως καὶ παρατάξασθαι τοῖς
πολεμίοις στρατηγικῶς.

15 Τῶν γοῦν Ἠπειρωτῶν ἑβδομήκοντα πόλεις
(16) Πολύβιός φησιν ἀνατρέψαι Παῦλον μετὰ τὴν
Μακεδόνων καὶ Περσέως κατάλυσιν· Μολοττῶν
δ' ὑπάρξαι τὰς πλείστας· πέντε δὲ καὶ δέκα
μυριάδας ἀνθρώπων ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι.

being for the most part those nominated by the envoys themselves in their own list, the exceptions being men who had rendered conspicuous services. To the Achaean League, however, the legates sent their two most distinguished members, Gaius Claudius Pulcher and Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, for two reasons. In the first place they were apprehensive lest the Achaeans should refuse to comply with their written instructions, and lest Callicrates and his colleagues should run actual risk, as they were thought to have trumped up the false accusations brought against all the Greeks, as in fact they had; and secondly because in the captured correspondence nothing had been found clearly implicating any Achaean. On this subject the proconsul shortly afterwards forwarded the letters and the envoys, although not personally approving of the accusations brought by Lyciscus and Callicrates, as became evident from what actually took place.

A Saying of Aemilius

(Cp. Livy xlv. 32. 11.)

14. A man with a mind capable of making good arrangements for games, and managing properly a sumptuous entertainment and banquet is likewise capable of marshalling his troops to meet the enemy with the skill of a general.

(From Strabo vii. 7. 3; cp. Livy xlv. 34. 6.)

15. Polybius says that Aemilius Paullus after the fall of Perseus destroyed seventy cities in Macedonia, most of them belonging to the Molotti, and that he sold into slavery a hundred and fifty thousand persons.

III. Res Aegypti

16 (17 11) Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀπολελυμένοι τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντίοχον πολέμου πρῶτον μὲν
2 εἰς Ῥώμην πρεσβευτὴν ἐξέπεμψαν Νουμήνιον, ἕνα τῶν φίλων, εὐχαριστήσοντα περὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτοὺς γεγονότων εὐεργετημάτων· ἀπέλυσαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον Μεναλκίδαν, ἐνεργῶς κεχρημένον τοῖς κατὰ τῆς βασιλείας καιροῖς πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπανόρθωσιν, Γαΐου Ποπιλίου τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀπολύσεως χάριν αἰτησαμένου παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων.

I. Res Italiae

17 (18 12) Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον Κότυς ὁ τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν βασιλεὺς ἀπέστειλε πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἀξιῶν ἀποδοθῆναι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ καὶ
2 περὶ τῆς γενομένης πρὸς Περσέα κοινοπραγίας δικαιολογούμενος. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι νομίσαντες ἠνύσθαι σφίσι τὸ προκείμενον, τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Περσέα πολέμου κατὰ νοῦν προκεχωρηκότος, τὴν
3 δὲ πρὸς Κότυν διαφορὰν πρὸς οὐδὲν ἔτι διατείνειν, συνεχώρησαν αὐτῷ κομίζεσθαι τὸν υἱόν, ὃς ὁμη-
4 ρείας χάριν δοθεὶς εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἑαλώκει μετὰ τῶν Περσέως τέκνων, βουλόμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν πρᾳότητα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν ἐμφαίνειν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸν Κότυν ἀναδούμενοι διὰ τῆς τοιαύτης χάριτος.

III. Affairs of Egypt

16. In Egypt the kings, when relieved from the war with Antiochus, in the first place dispatched Numenius, one of the royal friends, on an embassy to Rome to return thanks for the benefits conferred on them. They also set free Menalcidas of Lacedaemon who had energetically availed himself of the distressed condition of the kingdom to obtain his restoration. It was Gaius Popilius who asked them to do this as a personal favour to himself.

I. Affairs of Italy

Embassy from Cotys

(Cp. Livy xlv. 42. 6.)

17. At this time Cotys, the king of the Odrysae, sent envoys to Rome to beg that his son might be given back to him and also to defend his action in having joined Perseus. The Romans, thinking that they had attained their main object now that the war against Perseus had ended in their favour, and that it served no purpose to prolong their difference with Cotys, allowed him to take back his son, who had been sent as a hostage, to Macedonia and captured together with the children of Perseus, wishing to show their leniency and magnanimity, and at the same time attaching Cotys to them by this favour.

18 Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἦλθε καὶ Προυσίας
(19 16) ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, συγχαρησόμενος τῇ
2 συγκλήτῳ καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγο-
νόσιν. ὁ δὲ Προυσίας οὗτος οὐδαμῶς γέγονεν
ἄξιος τοῦ τῆς βασιλείας προσχήματος. τεκ-
3 μήραιτο δ' ἄν τις ἐκ τούτων. ὅς γε πρῶτον
μέν, πρεσβευτῶν παραγεγονότων Ῥωμαϊκῶν πρὸς
αὐτόν, ἐξυρημένος τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ πιλίον ἔχων
‹λευκὸν› καὶ τήβενναν καὶ καλικίους ἀπήντα
τούτοις, καὶ καθόλου τοιαύτῃ διασκευῇ κεχρη-
μένος οἵαν ἔχουσιν οἱ προσφάτως ἠλευθερωμένοι
4 παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, οὓς καλοῦσι λιβέρτους· καὶ
δεξιωσάμενος τοὺς πρεσβευτάς "ὁρᾶτ'" ἔφη
"τὸν ὑμέτερον λίβερτον ἐμέ, πάντα βουλόμενον
χαρίζεσθαι καὶ μιμεῖσθαι τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν." ἧς
5 ἀγεννεστέραν φωνὴν οὐ ῥᾴδιον εὑρεῖν. τότε δὲ
κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον τὴν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον, στὰς
κατὰ τὸ θύρετρον ἀντίος τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ καθεὶς
τὰς χεῖρας ἀμφοτέρας προσεκύνησε τὸν οὐδὸν καὶ
τοὺς καθημένους, ἐπιφθεγξάμενος "χαίρετε, θεοὶ
σωτῆρες," ὑπερβολὴν οὐ καταλιπὼν ἀνανδρίας,
ἅμα δὲ καὶ γυναικισμοῦ καὶ κολακείας οὐδενὶ τῶν
6 ἐπιγινομένων. ἀκόλουθα δὲ τούτοις καὶ κατὰ
τὴν κοινολογίαν εἰσελθὼν ἐπετελέσατο, περὶ ὧν
7 καὶ τὸ γράφειν ἀπρεπὲς ἦν. φανεὶς δὲ τελέως
εὐκαταφρόνητος ἀπόκρισιν ἔλαβε δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο
φιλάνθρωπον.

19 Ἤδη δὲ τούτου τὰς ἀποκρίσεις εἰληφότος,
(20) (17) 2 προσέπεσε παραγίνεσθαι τὸν Εὐμένη. τοῦτο δὲ
τὸ πρᾶγμα πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παρέσχε τοῖς ἐν τῷ
συνεδρίῳ· διαβεβλημένοι γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ δια-
λήψεις ἀμεταθέτους ἔχοντες οὐκ ἐβούλοντο κατ'

Prusias at Rome ; Eumenes not received

(Cp. Livy xlv. 44. 19.)

18. At the same time King Prusias also came to Rome to congratulate the senate and the generals on what had happened. This Prusias was a man by no means worthy of the royal dignity, as may easily be understood from the following facts. In the first place when some Roman legates had come to his court, he went to meet them with his head shorn, and wearing a white hat and a toga and shoes, exactly the costume worn at Rome by slaves recently manumitted or "liberti" as the Romans call them. "In me," he said, "you see your libertus who wishes to endear to himself and imitate everything Roman"; a phrase as humiliating as one can conceive. And now, on entering the senate-house he stood in the doorway facing the members and putting both his hands on the ground bowed his head to the ground in adoration of the threshold and the seated senators, with the words, "Hail, ye saviour gods," making it impossible for anyone after him to surpass him in unmanliness, womanishness, and servility. And on entering he conducted himself during his interview in a similar manner, doing things that it were unbecoming even to mention. As he showed himself to be utterly contemptible, he received a kind answer for this very reason.

19. After Prusias had received his answer news came that Eumenes was on his way. This matter very much embarrassed the senate. For as they had now quarrelled with him, and their opinion of him remained unshaken, they did not wish to make

3 οὐδένα τρόπον ἐμφανίζειν αὑτούς. πᾶσι γὰρ
ἀναδεδειχότες πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον φίλον τὸν
βασιλέα τοῦτον ἔμελλον εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθόντες καὶ
προσδεξάμενοι δικαιολογίαν, εἰ μὲν τὸ δοκοῦν
ἀποκριθεῖεν ἀκολουθοῦντες ταῖς ἰδίαις διαλή-
ψεσιν, ἐκθεατριεῖν αὑτούς, εἰ τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον
ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐξετίμησαν ἐν τοῖς ἀνώτερον χρό-
4 νοις, εἰ δὲ δουλεύοντες τῇ τῶν ἐκτὸς φαντασίᾳ
φιλανθρώπως ἀποκριθεῖεν, παρόψεσθαι τὴν ἀλή-
5 θειαν καὶ τὸ τῇ πατρίδι συμφέρον. διόπερ ἐξ
ἑκατέρας τῆς ἀποφάσεως μέλλοντος ἀπιθάνου
τινὸς αὑτοῖς ἐξακολουθήσειν, εὕροντο λύσιν τοῦ
6 προβλήματος τοιαύτην. ὡς γὰρ καθόλου δυσ-
αρεστούμενοι ταῖς τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιδημίαις δόγμα
τι τοιοῦτον ἐξέβαλον, μηδένα βασιλέα παραγίνε-
7 σθαι πρὸς αὑτούς. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πυθόμενοι
τὸν Εὐμένη καταπεπλευκέναι τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς
Βρεντέσιον ἐπαπέστειλαν τὸν ταμίαν φέροντα τὸ
δόγμα καὶ κελεύσοντα λέγειν πρὸς αὐτόν, εἴ
8 τι τυγχάνει τῆς συγκλήτου χρείαν ἔχων· εἰ δὲ
μηδενὸς δεῖται, παραγγελοῦντα τὴν ταχίστην αὐ-
9 τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. ὁ δὲ βα-
σιλεύς, συμμίξαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ ταμίου, γνοὺς τὴν
τῆς συγκλήτου προαίρεσιν εἰς τέλος ἀπεσιώπησεν,
10 οὐδενὸς φήσας προσδεῖσθαι. καὶ δὴ τούτῳ τῷ
τρόπῳ συνέβη τὸν Εὐμένη κωλυθῆναι τῆς εἰς
11 τὴν Ῥώμην ἀναβάσεως. συνηκολουθήκει δὲ καὶ
ἕτερόν τι πραγματικὸν τούτῳ τῷ διαβουλίῳ.
12 μεγάλου γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐπικρεμαμένου
κινδύνου τῇ βασιλείᾳ, προφανὲς ἦν ὅτι διὰ τὸν
σκυβαλισμὸν τοῦτον οἱ μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως σύμ-
μαχοι ταπεινωθήσονται πάντες, οἱ δὲ Γαλάται

any pronouncement at all. For they had proclaimed to the whole world that this king was their first and greatest friend, and now, if they allowed him to meet them and to defend himself, should they tell him in reply what they were really led to think of him by their own judgement, they would expose themselves to ridicule for having in former times paid this high honour to a man of such a character: if on the other hand they made themselves the slaves of appearances and gave him a kind answer, they would be ignoring truth and the interest of their country. Since therefore, whichever course they decided to adopt would put them in a position not easy to justify, they hit on the following solution of the problem. Affecting to be displeased by the visits of kings in general, they issued a decree that no king should present himself to them; and in the next place, when they heard that Eumenes had arrived at Brundisium, they dispatched the quaestor bearing this decree, and with orders to tell Eumenes to inform him if he stood in need of any service from the senate: in case there was nothing the king wanted he was to order him to leave Italy as soon as possible. Eumenes, when he met the quaestor, understood the intention of the senate and remained perfectly silent after saying that he was in want of nothing. This, then, was the way in which the king was prevented from going up to Rome. But another more practical purpose had contributed to this decision. For, as the kingdom of Pergamus was menaced with a great danger from the Gauls, it was evident that by this repulse all the allies of the king would be humiliated, and the

διπλασίως ἐπιρρωσθήσονται πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον.
13 διὸ πάντῃ πάντως βουλόμενοι ταπεινοῦν αὐτὸν
14 ἐπὶ ταύτην κατηνέχθησαν τὴν γνώμην. τούτων
δὲ γινομένων ἔτι κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ χειμῶνος, λοιπὸν
ἡ σύγκλητος <ἐχρημάτιζε> ἅπασιν τοῖς παρα-
15 γεγονόσι κατὰ πρεσβείαν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν οὔτε πόλις
οὔτε δυνάστης οὔτε βασιλεὺς ὃς οὐκ ἀπεστάλκει
πρεσβείαν κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν τὴν συγχαρη-
16 σομένην ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν· οἷς ἅπασιν οἰκείως
ἀπήντησε καὶ φιλανθρώπως πλὴν τῶν Ῥοδίων.
17 τούτους δὲ παρέπεμπε ποικίλας ἐμφάσεις ποιοῦσα
περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος. ἐπείχετο δὲ καὶ <τὰ> κατὰ
τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.

20 Ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παρεγένοντο πρεσβεύοντες
(21) (18) τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἁλιαρτίων σωτηρίας,
2 παρακουόμενοι δὲ περὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους ἐκ
μεταθέσεως διελέγοντο περὶ Δήλου καὶ Λήμνου
καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἁλιαρτίων χώρας, εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἐξ-
αιτούμενοι τὴν κτῆσιν· εἶχον γὰρ διττὰς ἐντολάς.
3 οἷς περὶ μὲν τῶν κατὰ Δῆλον καὶ Λῆμνον οὐκ
ἄν τις ἐπιτιμήσειε διὰ τὸ καὶ πρότερον ἀντι-
πεποιῆσθαι τῶν νήσων τούτων, περὶ δὲ τῆς τῶν
Ἁλιαρτίων χώρας εἰκότως ἄν τις καταμέμψαιτο.
4 τὸ γὰρ πόλιν σχεδὸν ἀρχαιοτάτην τῶν κατὰ τὴν
Βοιωτίαν ἐπταικυῖαν μὴ συνεπανορθοῦν κατὰ πάν-
τα τρόπον, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον ἐξαλείφειν, ἀφαιρου-
μένους καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἐλπίδας τῶν ἠκλη-
5 ρηκότων, δῆλον ὡς οὐδενὶ μὲν ἂν δόξαι τῶν
Ἑλλήνων καθήκειν, ἥκιστα δὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀθη-
6 ναίοις. τὸ γὰρ τὴν μὲν ἰδίαν πατρίδα κοινὴν

Gauls would undertake the war with redoubled vigour. So that it was with the view of thoroughly humiliating Eumenes that the senate arrived at this decision. This took place at the beginning of winter, and afterwards the senate dealt with all the embassies that had arrived. For there was no city or prince or king who had not at this time sent a mission to congratulate them. To all these they replied in suitable and kind terms with the exception of the Rhodians whom they dismissed with ambiguous declarations about their future. They also deferred giving an answer to the Athenians.

The Embassy from Athens

20. The embassy from Athens had come in the first place to beg that the people of Haliartus might be spared; but when this request was ignored, they changed the subject and spoke about Delos, Lemnos, and the territory of Haliartus, begging to be placed in possession of those places, for they had received a double set of instructions. We cannot blame them for asking for Delos and Lemnos, as they had previously laid claim to these islands; but as for the territory of Haliartus we are justified in finding fault with them. For not to strive by every means to retrieve the fallen fortunes of a city almost the most ancient in Boeotia, but on the contrary to erase it from the map, by depriving its unhappy inhabitants of all hope for the future, was evidently conduct unworthy of any Greek state and especially unworthy of Athens. For now, while they were making their own country the common refuge of all who

ποιεῖν ἅπασιν, τὰς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀναιρεῖν, οὐδαμῶς
7 οἰκεῖον ἂν φανείη τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἤθους. πλὴν
ἥ γε σύγκλητος καὶ τὴν Δῆλον αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε καὶ
τὴν Λῆμνον <καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἁλιαρτίων χώραν> καὶ
τὰ μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τοιαύτην ἔσχε
διάθεσιν.

8 Καὶ τὴν μὲν Λῆμνον καὶ τὴν Δῆλον κατὰ τὴν
9 παροιμίαν τὸν λύκον τῶν ὤτων ἔλαβον· πολλὰ
γὰρ ὑπέμειναν δυσκληρήματα συμπλεκόμενοι τοῖς
Δηλίοις· ἐκ δὲ τῆς τῶν Ἁλιαρτίων χώρας ὄνειδος
αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ καρπός τις συνεξηκολούθησεν.

21 Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον Θεαίδητος εἰσ-
(22) (19) ελθὼν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον λόγους μὲν ἐποιήσατο
2 περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας· ὑπερθεμένης δὲ τῆς συγ-
κλήτου τὸ διαβούλιον, οὗτος μὲν μετήλλαξε τὸν
βίον κατὰ φύσιν· ἔτη γὰρ εἶχε πλείω τῶν ὀγδοή-
3 κοντα· παραγενομένων δὲ φυγάδων ἔκ τε Καύνου
καὶ Στρατονικείας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ παρ-
ελθόντων εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἐγένετο δόγμα
Ῥοδίους ἐξάγειν τὰς φρουρὰς ἔκ τε Καύνου καὶ
4 Στρατονικείας. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Φιλόφρονα καὶ
Ἀστυμήδην λαβόντες ταύτην τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἀπ-
5 έπλευσαν κατὰ σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, δεδιότες μὴ
παρακούσαντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι περὶ τοῦ τὰς φρουρὰς
ἐξαγαγεῖν αὖθις ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ἐγκλημάτων ποιή-
σωσιν.

wished to be citizens of it, to destroy thus the countries of others was by no means consonant with the traditions of the city. The senate, however, gave them, both Delos and Lemnos as well as this territory of Haliartus. Such was the decision about Athens.

In taking Lemnos and Delos they were, as the proverb has it, taking the wolf by the ears. For their connexion with the Delians had many unpleasant consequences, and from their possession of the territory of Haliartus they reaped more reproach than profit.

Rhodian Matters

21. At this time Theaedetus appeared before the senate, and spoke on the subject of an alliance; but the senate deferred their decision, and Theaedetus in the meantime died a natural death, being over eighty years of age. Exiles then arrived in Rome from Caunus and Stratonicea, and came before the senate, which passed a decree ordering the Rhodians to withdraw their garrisons from these cities. Philophron and Astymedes, on receiving this answer, took ship at once for home, as they were afraid of the Rhodians refusing compliance with the order to withdraw the garrisons, and thus giving rise to fresh complaints.

22 Λεύκιος δὲ Ἀνίκιος, καὶ αὐτὸς Ῥωμαίων
(14) (13) στρατηγήσας, Ἰλλυριοὺς καταπολεμήσας καὶ αἰχ-
μάλωτον ἀγαγὼν Γένθιον τὸν τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν
βασιλέα σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις, ἀγῶνας ἐπιτελῶν τοὺς
ἐπινικίους ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παντὸς γέλωτος ἄξια
πράγματα ἐποίησεν, ὡς Πολύβιος ἱστορεῖ ἐν τῇ
2 τριακοστῇ. μεταπεμψάμενος γὰρ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς
Ἑλλάδος ἐπιφανεστάτους τεχνίτας καὶ σκηνὴν
κατασκευάσας μεγίστην ἐν τῷ κίρκῳ πρώτους
3 εἰσῆγεν αὐλητὰς ἅμα πάντας. οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν
Θεόδωρος ὁ Βοιώτιος, Θεόπομπος, Ἕρμιππος,
[ὁ] Λυσίμαχος, οἵτινες ἐπιφανέστατοι ἦσαν. τού-
4 τους οὖν στήσας ἐπὶ τὸ προσκήνιον μετὰ τοῦ
5 χοροῦ αὐλεῖν ἐκέλευσεν ἅμα πάντας. τῶν δὲ
διαπορευομένων τὰς κρούσεις μετὰ τῆς ἁρμο-
ζούσης κινήσεως προσπέμψας οὐκ ἔφη καλῶς
αὐτοὺς αὐλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀγωνίζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἐκέ-
6 λευσεν. τῶν δὲ διαπορούντων ὑπέδειξέν τις τῶν
ῥαβδούχων ἐπιστρέψαντας ἐπαγαγεῖν ἐφ' αὐτοὺς
7 καὶ ποιεῖν ὡσανεὶ μάχην. ταχὺ δὲ συννοήσαντες
οἱ αὐληταὶ καὶ λαβόντες . . . οἰκείαν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν
8 ἀσελγείαις μεγάλην ἐποίησαν σύγχυσιν. συνεπι-
στρέψαντες δὲ τοὺς μέσους χοροὺς πρὸς τοὺς
ἄκρους οἱ μὲν αὐληταὶ φυσῶντες ἀδιανόητα καὶ
διαφέροντες τοὺς αὐλοὺς ἐπῆγον ἀνὰ μέρος ἐπ'
9 ἀλλήλους. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις ἐπικτυποῦντες οἱ
χοροὶ καὶ συνεπεισιόντες τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπεφέροντο
τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ πάλιν ἀνεχώρουν ἐκ μεταβολῆς.
10 ὡς δὲ καὶ περιζωσάμενός τις τῶν χορευτῶν ἐκ

Lucius Anicius's Triumph over Genthius

(From Athenaeus xiv. p. 615; cp. Livy xlv. 43. 1.)

22. Lucius Anicius, the Roman praetor, upon conquering the Illyrians and bringing back as his prisoners Genthius, the king of Illyria, and his children, in celebrating games in honour of his victory, behaved in the most absurd manner, as Polybius tells us in his Thirtieth Book. For having sent for the most celebrated scenic artists from Greece and constructed an enormous stage in the circus, he first brought on all the flute-players at once. These were Theodorus of Boeotia, Theopompus, Hermippus and Lysimachus, who were then at the height of their fame. Stationing them with the chorus on the proscenium he ordered them to play all together. When they went through their performance with the proper rhythmic movements, he sent to them to say they were not playing well and ordered them to show more competitive spirit. They were at a loss to know what he meant, when one of the lictors explained that they should turn and go for each other and make a sort of fight of it. The players soon understood, and having got an order that suited their own appetite for licence, made a mighty confusion. Making the central groups of dancers face those on the outside, the flute-players blowing loud in unintelligible discord and turning their flutes about this way and that, advanced towards each other in turn, and the dancers, clapping their hands and mounting the stage all together, attacked the adverse party and then faced about and retreated in their turn. And when one of the dancers girt up his robes on the

τοῦ καιροῦ στραφεὶς ἦρε τὰς χεῖρας ἀπὸ πυγμῆς πρὸς τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον αὐλητήν, τότ' ἤδη κρότος
11 ἐξαίσιος ἐγένετο καὶ κραυγὴ τῶν θεωμένων. ἔτι δὲ τούτων ἐκ παρατάξεως ἀγωνιζομένων ὀρχησταὶ δύο εἰσήγοντο μετὰ συμφωνίας εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν, καὶ πύκται τέτταρες ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν
12 μετὰ σαλπιγκτῶν καὶ βυκανιστῶν. ὁμοῦ δὲ τούτων πάντων ἀγωνιζομένων ἄλεκτον ἦν τὸ συμβαῖνον. περὶ δὲ τῶν τραγῳδῶν, φησὶν ὁ Πολύβιος, ὅ, τι ἂν ἐπιβάλωμαι λέγειν, δόξω τισὶ διαχλευάζειν.

II. Res Graeciae

23 Ὅτι ἐξεπολέμησαν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον
(31 1) Κνώσιοι μετὰ Γορτυνίων πρὸς τοὺς Ῥαυκίους καὶ συνθήκας ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνόρκους μὴ πρότερον λύσειν τὸν πόλεμον πρὶν ἢ κατὰ κράτος
2 ἑλεῖν τὴν Ῥαῦκον. οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι κομισάμενοι τὰ περὶ τῶν Καυνίων καὶ θεωροῦντες οὐ καταλήγουσαν τὴν ὀργὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων, ἐπειδὴ περὶ πάντων ἀκολούθως ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν ἐπειθάρχησαν, εὐθέως τοὺς περὶ Ἀριστοτέλην πρεσβευτὰς καταστήσαντες ἐξέπεμπον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, δόντες ἐντολὰς πειράζειν πάλιν περὶ τῆς συμ-
3 μαχίας. οἳ καὶ παραγενηθέντες εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην θερείας ἀκμαζούσης εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ παραυτίκα περὶ τοῦ πεπειθαρχηκέναι τὸν δῆμον τοῖς ἐπιταττομένοις διεσάφουν καὶ παρεκάλουν ὑπὲρ τῆς συμμαχίας, πολλοὺς καὶ ποικίλους
4 δια<τι>θέμενοι λόγους. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἔδωκεν ἀπόκρισιν, ἐν ᾗ τὴν μὲν φιλίαν παρεσιώπησε,

spur of the moment, and turning round lifted up his hands in boxing attitude against the flute-player who was advancing towards him, there was tremendous applause and cheering on the part of the spectators. And while they were thus engaged in a pitched battle, two dancers with musicians were introduced into the orchestra and four prize-fighters mounted the stage accompanied by buglers and clarion-players and with all these men struggling together the scene was indescribable. As for the tragic actors Polybius says, "If I tried to describe them some people would think I was making fun of my readers."

II. Affairs of Greece

Cretan and Rhodian Matters

23. At this time the Cnosians and Gortynians finished their war with Rhaucus, having previously come to an agreement with each other not to desist from the war before they took Rhaucus by storm. The Rhodians on receiving the message about Caunus and seeing that the displeasure of the Romans did not diminish, when they had yielded complete obedience to the terms of their reply, at once appointed and sent Aristoteles and other envoys to Rome with instructions to try again to obtain an alliance. They reached Rome in the middle of summer, and, entering the senate-house, at once informed that body that their people had obeyed all orders, and begged for an alliance, using many various arguments. The senate returned an answer in which, making no mention of friendship,

περὶ δὲ τῆς συμμαχίας οὐκ ἔφη καθήκειν αὑτῇ τοῦτο συγχωρεῖν Ῥοδίοις κατὰ τὸ παρόν.

24 Ὅμοιοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τὴν Περαίαν κατοικοῦντες
(31 28) τοῖς οἰκέταις τοῖς ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν ἀνελπίστως
2 λελυμένοις, οἵτινες ἀπιστοῦντες τοῖς παροῦσι μείζω μὲν διαβαίνουσι τῆς κατὰ φύσιν κινήσεως, οὐ δοκοῦσι δὲ γινώσκεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν οὐδὲ συνορᾶσθαι διότι λέλυνται σαφῶς, ἐὰν μή τι παράλογον ποιῶσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐξηλλαγμένον.

III. Res Asiae

25 Ὁ δ᾽ αὐτὸς οὗτος βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας τοὺς ἐν τῇ
(31 3) Μακεδονίᾳ συντετελεσμένους ἀγῶνας ὑπὸ Αἰμιλίου Παύλου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῦ, βουλόμενος τῇ μεγαλοδωρίᾳ ὑπερᾶραι τὸν Παῦλον ἐξέπεμψε πρέσβεις καὶ θεωροὺς εἰς τὰς πόλεις καταγγελοῦντας τοὺς ἐσομένους ἀγῶνας ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ Δάφνης, ὡς πολλὴν γενέσθαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων
2 σπουδὴν εἰς τὴν ὡς αὐτὸν ἄφιξιν. ἀρχὴν δ᾽ ἐποιήσατο τῆς πανηγύρεως τὴν πομπείαν οὕτως
3 ἐπιτελεσθεῖσαν. καθηγοῦντό τινες Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἔχοντες καθοπλισμὸν ἐν θώραξιν ἁλυσιδωτοῖς, ἄνδρες ἀκμάζοντες ταῖς ἡλικίαις πεντακισχίλιοι·
4 μεθ᾽ οὓς Μυσοὶ πεντακισχίλιοι. συνεχεῖς δ᾽ ἦσαν Κίλικες εἰς τὸν τῶν εὐζώνων τρόπον καθωπλισμένοι τρισχίλιοι, χρυσοῦς ἔχοντες στεφάνους.
5 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις Θρᾷκες τρισχίλιοι καὶ Γαλάται πεντακισχίλιοι. τούτοις ἐπέβαλλον Μακεδόνες δισμύριοι καὶ χαλκάσπιδες πεντακισχίλιοι, ἄλλοι

they said that as regards an alliance the time had not come when it was proper for them to grant this to Rhodes.

24. The inhabitants of Peraea were like slaves unexpectedly released from their fetters, who, unable to believe the truth, take longer steps than their natural ones and fancy that those they meet will not know and see for certain that they are free unless they behave in some strange way and differently from other men.

III. Affairs of Asia

Games celebrated by Antiochus IV.

(From Athenaeus v. 194 and x. 439.)

25. This same king when he heard of the games celebrated in Macedonia by Aemilius Paullus the Roman general, ambitious of surpassing Paullus in magnificence sent out embassies and sacred missions to the towns to announce the games he was about to give at Daphne, so that people in Greece were very eager to visit Antioch then. The festival opened with a procession composed as follows: It was headed by five thousand men in the prime of life armed after the Roman fashion and wearing breastplates of chain-armour. Next came five thousand Mysians, and immediately behind them three thousand Cilicians armed in the manner of light infantry, wearing gold crowns. Next came three thousand Thracians and five thousand Gauls. They were followed by twenty thousand Macedonians of whom ten thousand bore golden shields,

δὲ ἀργυράσπιδες,[1] οἷς ἐπηκολούθει μονομάχων
6 ζεύγη διακόσια τετταράκοντα. τούτων κατό-
πιν ἦσαν ἱππεῖς Νισαῖοι μὲν χίλιοι πολιτικοὶ δὲ
τρισχίλιοι, ὧν οἱ μὲν πλείους ἦσαν χρυσοφάλαροι
7 καὶ χρυσοστέφανοι, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἀργυροφάλαροι.
μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἦσαν οἱ λεγόμενοι Ἑταῖροι
ἱππεῖς· οὗτοι δὲ ἦσαν εἰς χιλίους, πάντες χρυσο-
8 φάλαροι. τούτοις συνεχὲς ἦν τὸ τῶν φίλων
σύνταγμα, ἴσον καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ κατὰ τὸν
κόσμον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἐπίλεκτοι χίλιοι, οἷς
ἐπηκολούθει τὸ καλούμενον ἄγημα, κράτιστον
9 εἶναι δοκοῦν σύστημα τῶν ἱππέων, περὶ χιλίους.
τελευταία δ' ἦν ἡ κατάφρακτος ἵππος, οἰκείως τῇ
προσηγορίᾳ τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐσκεπα-
σμένων τοῖς ὅπλοις· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ χίλιοι καὶ
10 πεντακόσιοι. πάντες δ' οἱ προειρημένοι εἶχον
πορφυρᾶς ἐφαπτίδας, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ διαχρύσους
11 καὶ ζῳωτάς. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ἕξιππα μὲν ἦν
ἑκατόν, τέθριππα δὲ τετταράκοντα, ἔπειτα ἐλε-
φάντων ἅρμα καὶ συνωρίς. καθ' ἕνα δὲ εἵποντο
ἐλέφαντες διεσκευασμένοι τριάκοντα καὶ ἕξ.
12 Τὴν δ' ἄλλην πομπὴν λέγειν ἐστὶ δυσέφικτον,
ὡς ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ λεκτέον. ἔφηβοι μὲν γὰρ
ἐπόμπευσαν εἰς ὀκτακοσίους, χρυσοῦς ἔχοντες
στεφάνους, βόες δ' εὐτραφεῖς περὶ χιλίους, θεω-
ρικαὶ[2] δὲ βραχὺ λείπουσαι τριακοσίων, ἐλεφάντων
13 δὲ ὀδόντες ὀκτακόσιοι. τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀγαλμάτων
πλῆθος οὐ δυνατὸν ἐξηγήσασθαι· πάντων γὰρ
τῶν παρ' ἀνθρώποις λεγομένων ἢ νομιζομένων

[1] Kaibel suggests δισμύριοι ⟨χρυσάσπιδες μὲν μύριοι⟩ καὶ χαλκ. πεντ., ⟨οἱ⟩ δὲ ἄλλοι which I render.

[2] I write θεωρικαὶ for θεωρίαι.

five thousand brazen shields and the rest silver shields. Next marched two hundred and fifty pairs of gladiators, and behind them a thousand horsemen from Nisa and three thousand from Antioch itself, most of whom had crowns and trappings of gold and the rest trappings of silver. Next to these came the so-called "companion cavalry," numbering about a thousand, all with gold trappings, and next the regiment of "royal friends" of equal number and similarly accoutred; next a thousand picked horse followed by the so-called "agema," supposed to be the crack cavalry corps, numbering about a thousand. Last of all marched the "cataphract" or mailed horse, the horses and men being armed in complete mail, as the name indicated. Of these too there were about fifteen hundred. All the above wore purple surcoats in many cases embroidered with gold and heraldic designs. Next came a hundred chariots drawn by six horses and forty drawn by four horses, and then a chariot drawn by four elephants and another drawn by a pair, and finally thirty-six elephants in single file with their housings.

It is a difficult task to describe the rest of the procession but I must attempt to give its main features. About eight hundred young men wearing gold crowns made part of it as well as about a thousand fat cattle and nearly three hundred cows presented by the various sacred missions and eight hundred ivory tusks. The vast quantity of images it is impossible to enumerate. For representations of all the gods and spirits mentioned or worshipped by men

θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων, προσέτι δὲ ἡρώων εἴδωλα
διήγετο, τὰ μὲν κεχρυσωμένα, τὰ δ' ἠμφιεσμένα
14 στολαῖς διαχρύσοις. καὶ πᾶσι τούτοις οἱ προσ-
ήκοντες μῦθοι κατὰ τὰς παραδεδομένας ἱστορίας
15 ἐν διασκευαῖς πολυτελέσι παρέκειντο. εἵπετο δ'
αὐτοῖς καὶ Νυκτὸς εἴδωλον καὶ Ἡμέρας, Γῆς τε
16 καὶ Οὐρανοῦ, καὶ Ἠοῦς καὶ Μεσημβρίας. τὸ
δὲ τῶν χρυσωμάτων καὶ ἀργυρωμάτων πλῆθος
οὕτως ἄν τις ὑπονοήσειεν ὅσον ἦν· ἑνὸς γὰρ τῶν
φίλων, Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐπιστολιαγράφου, χίλιοι
παῖδες ἐπόμπευσαν ἀργυρώματα ἔχοντες, ὧν οὐδὲν
17 ἔλαττον' ὁλκὴν εἶχεν δραχμῶν χιλίων. βασι-
λικοὶ δὲ παῖδες παρῆλθον ἑξακόσιοι χρυσώματα
ἔχοντες. ἔπειτα γυναῖκες ἐκ χρυσῶν καλπίδων
18 μύροις ἔρραινον, εἰς διακοσίας. ταύταις δ' ἑξῆς
ἐπόμπευον ἐν χρυσόποσι μὲν φορείοις ὀγδοήκοντα
γυναῖκες, <ἐν> ἀργυρόποσι δὲ πεντακόσιαι καθ-
19 ήμεναι, πολυτελῶς διεσκευασμέναι. καὶ τῆς μὲν
πομπῆς τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα ταῦτα ἦν.

26 Ἐπιτελεσθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀγώνων καὶ μονο-
(31 4) μαχιῶν καὶ κυνηγεσίων κατὰ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας,
ἐν αἷς τὰς θέας συνετέλει, πέντε μὲν τὰς πρώτας
ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ πάντες ἐκ χρυσῶν ὁλκείων ἠλεί-
2 φοντο κροκίνῳ μύρῳ. ἦν δὲ ταῦτα πεντεκαί-
δεκα, καὶ κινναμωμίνου τὰ ἴσα καὶ ναρδίνου.
παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἑξῆς εἰσεφέρετο τήλινον,
ἀμαράκινον, ἴρινον, πάντα διαφέροντα ταῖς εὐ-
3 ωδίαις. ἔστρωτο δὲ εἰς εὐωχίαν ποτὲ μὲν χίλια
τρίκλινα, ποτὲ δὲ χίλια πεντακόσια μετὰ τῆς
πολυτελεστάτης διασκευῆς.

4 Athen. l. c. Ὁ δὲ χειρισμὸς ἐγίνετο τῶν πραγ-

and of all the heroes were carried along, some gilded and others draped in garments embroidered with gold, and they were all accompanied by representations executed in precious materials of the myths relating to them as traditionally narrated. Behind them came images of Night and Day, of Earth and Heaven, and of Dawn and Midday. The quantity of gold and silver plate may be estimated from what follows. The slaves of one of the royal "friends," Dionysius, the private secretary, marched along carrying articles of silver plate none of them weighing less than a thousand drachmae, and six hundred of the king's own slaves went by bearing articles of gold plate. Next there were about two hundred women sprinkling the crowd with perfumes from golden urns, and these were followed by eighty women seated in litters with golden feet and five hundred in litters with silver feet, all richly dressed. Such were the more remarkable features of the procession.

26. When the games, gladiatorial shows, and beast-fights, which lasted for the thirty days devoted to spectacles, were over, for the first five succeeding days every one who chose anointed himself in the gymnasium with saffron ointment out of gold jars: of those there were fifteen, and there were the same number of jars with ointment of cinnamon and spikenard. On the succeeding days ointments of fenugreek, marjoram, and orris were brought in, all of exquisite perfume. For banqueting there were sometimes a thousand tables laid and sometimes fifteen hundred, all furnished with the most costly viands.

All the arrangements were made by the king in

μάτων δι' αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως· ἵππον γὰρ ἔχων
εὐτελῆ παρέτρεχε παρὰ τὴν πομπήν, τοὺς μὲν
5 προάγειν κελεύων τοὺς δὲ ἐπέχειν. κατὰ δὲ
τοὺς πότους αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὰς εἰσόδους ἐφιστάμενος
οὓς μὲν εἰσῆγεν οὓς δ' ἀνέκλινε, καὶ τοὺς δια-
κόνους δὲ τοὺς τὰς παραθέσεις φέροντας αὐτὸς
6 εἰσῆγε. καὶ περιπορευόμενος οὗ μὲν προσεκά-
θιζεν, οὗ δὲ προσανέπιπτε· καὶ ποτὲ μὲν ἀπο-
θέμενος μεταξὺ τὸν ψωμόν, ποτὲ δὲ τὸ ποτήριον
ἀνεπήδα καὶ μετανίστατο καὶ περιῄει τὸν πότον,
προπόσεις λαμβάνων ὀρθὸς ἄλλοτε παρ' ἄλλοις,
7 ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀκροάμασι προσπαίζων. προ-
ϊούσης δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς συνουσίας καὶ πολλῶν ἤδη
κεχωρισμένων, ὑπὸ τῶν μίμων ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰσ-
εφέρετο ὅλος κεκαλυμμένος καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐτίθετο
8 ὡς εἷς ὢν δῆτα τῶν μίμων. καὶ τῆς συμφωνίας
προκαλουμένης, ἀναπηδήσας ὠρχεῖτο καὶ ὑπεκρί-
νετο μετὰ τῶν γελωτοποιῶν, ὥστε πάντας αἰσχυ-
9 νομένους φεύγειν. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συνετελέσθη
ἐξ ὧν τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐνοσφίσατο, παρα-
σπονδήσας τὸν Φιλομήτορα βασιλέα παιδίσκον
ὄντα, <τὰ> δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων συμβαλλομένων.
ἱεροσυλήκει δὲ καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν ἱερῶν.

27 Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τῶν ἀγώνων, ἄρτι
(31 5) τούτων γεγονότων, ἧκον οἱ περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον
2 πρεσβευταί, κατασκόπων ἔχοντες τάξιν. οἷς οὕ-
τως ἐπιδεξίως ἀπήντησεν Ἀντίοχος καὶ φιλο-
φρόνως ὥστε μὴ οἷον τοὺς περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον
ὑποπτεῦσαί τι περὶ αὐτοῦ πραγματικὸν ἢ παρα-
τριβῆς ἔμφασιν ἔχον ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάν-

person. He rode on a sorry pony along the procession, ordering it to advance or halt as the case might be. At banquets, again, he stood himself at the entrance and led in some of the guests, and ushered others to their seats, himself leading in also the attendants who carried the dishes. Then he would walk round the room, occasionally sitting down and occasionally reclining, and then, putting down as the case might be the cup or the morsel he was holding, he would jump up and change his place, going all round the banquet, accepting toasts standing from this man or that and making fun of the musical performance. Finally when the carouse had been going on for long and many of the guests had already left, the king, entirely wrapped up, was carried in by the mimes and deposited on the ground as if he were one of themselves. The band was now summoned, and he, jumping up, would dance and act with the burlesque players, so that all the guests were abashed and left the feast. All the above display and outlay was provided for by the robberies he had committed in Egypt when he treacherously attacked King Philometor while yet a child, and partly by contributions from his friends. He had also sacrilegiously despoiled most of the temples.

27. Shortly after the end of the games Tiberius Gracchus and the other legates arrived in the quality of inspectors. Antiochus, however, was so adroit and courteous when he met them that Tiberius and his colleagues, far from acquiring any real suspicion about him or detecting anything indicative of disaffection due to what had happened at Alexandria,

δρειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λεγόντων τι τοιοῦτον κατα-
γινώσκειν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀπάν-
3 τησιν φιλανθρωπίας· ὅς γε πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ
τῆς αὐλῆς παρεχώρησε τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς, μικροῦ
4 δὲ καὶ τοῦ διαδήματος κατὰ τὴν ἐπίφασιν, καίπερ
οὐκ ὢν τῇ προαιρέσει τοιοῦτος, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον.

I. Res Italiae

28 Ὅτι τοῖς παρὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Γαλατῶν
(31 2) πρεσβευταῖς συνεχώρησαν τὴν αὐτονομίαν μένου-
σιν ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις κατοικίαις καὶ μὴ στρατευο-
μένοις ἐκτὸς τῶν ἰδίων ὅρων.

II. Res Graeciae

29 Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον, παραγενομένων
(23)(20) τῶν πρεσβευτῶν καὶ διασαφούντων τὰ κατὰ τὰς
ἀποκρίσεις, οὐκέτι θόρυβος ἦν, ἀλλ' ὀργὴ καὶ
μῖσος ἐκφανὲς πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Καλλικράτην.
2 Ὅτι τοῦ περὶ Καλλικράτην μίσους καὶ Ἀνδρω-
νίδαν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς <τοὺς> ὁμογνώμονας
3 τούτων οὕτως ἄν τις τεκμήραιτο. τῆς γὰρ τῶν
Ἀντιγονείων πανηγύρεως ἐν τῷ Σικυῶνι συν-
τελουμένης, καὶ τῶν βαλανείων ἁπάντων ἐχόντων
τάς τε κοινὰς μάκτρας καὶ πυέλους ταύταις παρα-
κειμένας, εἰς ἃς οἱ κομψότεροι τῶν ἀνθρώπων
4 εἰώθασι κατ' ἰδίαν ἐμβαίνειν, εἰς ταύτας ὅτε τις

even discredited those who said anything of the kind, owing to their exceedingly kind reception: for in addition to other favours he even gave up his palace to them, and very nearly gave up his crown to them as well, so far his demeanour went, although his real feelings were not so, but quite the reverse.

I. Affairs of Italy

Treatment of Galatia

28. The autonomy of their country was granted by 166–165 B.C.
the senate to the Galatian envoys on condition that they remained in their own settlements and did not cross their frontier in arms.

II. Affairs of Greece

Feeling against Callicrates

29. In Peloponnesus, when the envoys returned and reported the answer they had received, there was no longer any disturbance but unconcealed indignation and hatred against Callicrates and his party.

One can guess from the following circumstance how cordially Callicrates, Andronidas, and the rest of their party were detested. When the festival of the Antigoneia was being celebrated in Sicyon, and all the baths had their large public bathing-tubs open, and smaller ones next them, which the more genteel people used to enter privately, whenever any of the

καθείη τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀνδρωνίδαν καὶ Καλλικρά-
την, οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμα τῶν ἐφεστώτων ἔτι καθιέναι,
πρὶν ἢ τὸν βαλανείτην τὸ μὲν ὑπάρχον ὕδωρ ἀφεῖναι
5 πᾶν, ἕτερον δὲ καθαρὸν ἐγχέαι. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίουν,
ὑπολαμβάνοντες ὡσανεὶ μιαίνεσθαι καθιέντες εἰς
6 ταὐτὸ τοῖς προειρημένοις ὕδωρ. τοὺς δὲ συριγ-
μοὺς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς πανηγύρεσι τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων καὶ τοὺς χλευασμούς, ὅτε τις ἐπιβάλοιτο
κηρύττειν τινὰ τῶν προειρημένων, οὐδ' ἂν ἐξηγή-
7 σαιτο ῥᾳδίως οὐδείς. ἐθάρρει δὲ καὶ τὰ παιδάρια
κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐκ τῶν διδασκαλείων ἐπανάγοντα
κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοὺς προδότας ἀποκαλεῖν.
τοιαύτη τις ὑπέδραμε προσκοπὴ καὶ μῖσος κατὰ
τῶν προειρημένων.

Res Italiae

30 Ὅτι εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην παραγεγονότων πρεσβευ-
(31 6) τῶν πλειόνων καὶ ἑτέρων, ἐπιφανεστάτων δὲ παρὰ
μὲν Ῥοδίων τῶν περὶ Ἀστυμήδην, παρὰ δὲ τῶν
Ἀχαιῶν τῶν περὶ Εὐρέαν καὶ Ἀναξίδαμον καὶ
Σάτυρον, παρὰ δὲ Προυσίου τῶν περὶ Πύθωνα,
2 τούτοις ἐχρημάτισεν ἡ σύγκλητος. οἱ μὲν οὖν
παρὰ τοῦ Προυσίου κατηγορίαν ἐποιοῦντ' Εὐ-
μένους τοῦ βασιλέως, φάσκοντες αὐτῶν τέ τινα
χωρία παραιρεῖσθαι τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας
οὐκ ἀφίστασθαι τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς
3 τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμασιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τὰ σφέτερα
μὲν φρονοῦντας σωματοποιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ τὰ Ῥω-
μαίων αἱρουμένους καὶ βουλομένους πολιτεύεσθαι
τοῖς τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμασιν ἀκολούθως κατὰ
4 πάντα τρόπον ἐλαττοῦν. ἦσαν δέ τινες πρεσβευ-

party of Callicrates and Andronidas went in to them, none of those who were waiting their turn ventured to enter the water after them, before the bath-keeper had let it all run off and poured in fresh. They did this because they considered that they would be, as it were, polluted by entering the same water as those people. And as for the hissing and hooting at public festivals when anyone attempted to proclaim one of these men as victor, it would not be easy to describe it. Even the children in the streets on their way back from school ventured to call them traitors to their faces. So deep was the prevailing aversion and hatred of them.

Affairs of Italy

Embassies from Prusias, Rhodes, and Achaea

30. Many other embassies also reached Rome this 165-164 B.C.
year, the principal ones being that under Astymedes from Rhodes, that from the Achaeans consisting of Eureas, Anaxidamus and Satyrus, and that from Prusias headed by Python. The senate gave audiences to all these. The envoys from Prusias complained of King Eumenes, asserting that he had annexed some Bithynian places, and did not by any means cease from meddling with Galatia, but disobeyed the decrees of the senate, continuing to strengthen his own partisans there and to weaken by every means in his power those who were favourable to Rome, and who desired to act in accordance with the decrees of the senate. There were also some

ταὶ καὶ παρὰ τῶν τῆς Ἀσίας πόλεων, οἳ κατηγόρουν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔμφασιν ποιοῦντες τῆς
5 πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον κοινοπραγίας. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος διακούσασα τῶν κατηγορούντων οὔτ' ἀπέρριπτε τὰς διαβολὰς οὔτ' ἐξέφαινε τὴν ἑαυτῆς γνώμην, ἀλλὰ συνετήρει παρ' ἑαυτῇ, διαπιστοῦσα καθόλου τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον·
6 τοῖς γε μὴν Γαλάταις ἀεί τι προσετίθει καὶ συν-
7 επίσχυε περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον ἥκοντες ἀπὸ τῆς πρεσβείας οὐδὲν περιττότερον ἠδυνήθησαν οὔτ' αὐτοὶ διαλαβεῖν οὔτε τῇ συγκλήτῳ διασαφῆσαι περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ τὸν Ἀντίοχον, ἤπερ ἃ καὶ πρότερον ὄντες
8 ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διελάμβανον. οὕτως αὐτοὺς οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐξετέμοντο τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀπάντησιν φιλανθρωπίᾳ.

31 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προσκαλεσαμένη τοὺς Ῥοδίους
(31 7) 2 διήκουε τούτων. ὁ δ' Ἀστυμήδης εἰσελθὼν μετρίως ἔστη καὶ βέλτιον ἢ κατὰ τὴν πρὸ ταύτης
3 πρεσβείαν· ἀφέμενος γὰρ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν τῶν ἄλλων ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸ παραιτεῖσθαι, καθάπερ οἱ μαστιγούμενοι τὰς πληγάς, φάσκων ἱκανοῖς προστίμοις περιπεπτωκέναι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ μείζοσι
4 τῆς ἁμαρτίας. καὶ προσθέμενος ἐξηγεῖτο τὰς ἐλαττώσεις, κεφαλαιωδῶς διεξιών, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι Λυκίαν καὶ Καρίαν ἀπολωλέκασιν, εἰς ἣν ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν ἐδαπάνησαν χρημάτων ἱκανὸν πλῆθος, τριττοὺς πολέμους ἀναγκασθέντες πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς, νυνὶ δὲ προσόδων ἐστέρηνται πολλῶν ὧν
5 ἐλάμβανον παρὰ τῶν προειρημένων. "ἀλλ' ἴσως" ἔφη "ταῦτα μὲν ἔχει λόγον· καὶ γὰρ ἐδώκαθ' ὑμεῖς αὐτὰ τῷ δήμῳ, μετὰ χάριτος <διὰ>

envoys from Asiatic cities who accused Eumenes, laying stress on his understanding with Antiochus. The senate, after listening to the accusations, neither repelled them nor pronounced any opinion, but took note of them, generally distrusting Eumenes and Antiochus. As for the Galatians they continued to add to and further secure their liberties. Tiberius and his colleagues, on returning from their mission, were incapable of forming themselves or stating to the senate any opinion about Eumenes and Antiochus further than that which they had formerly entertained when in Rome. So well had the kings succeeded in relaxing their vigour by the warmth of their reception.

31. After this the senate summoned the Rhodians and gave them a hearing. Astymedes on entering took up a more moderate and better position than on his last embassy. For, desisting from bringing accusations, he began to make excuses, as slaves when scourged beg to be let off a certain number of lashes, saying that his country had been sufficiently mulcted and beyond what her offences deserved. He then proceeded to sum up the losses which Rhodes had suffered, mentioning first of all that of Lycia and Caria, on which provinces they had spent from the outset a considerable sum, having been compelled to undertake three wars against them, and now they were deprived of the large revenue derived from them. "But perhaps," he said, "in this you are justified; for it is true that you gave these districts to our people as a favour and token of goodwill, and

τὴν εὔνοιαν, καὶ ἀφανίζοντες αὐτὰ κατὰ λόγον
ἐδοκεῖτε τοῦτο πράττειν, ἐμπεσούσης τινὸς ὑπ-
6 οψίας καὶ διαφορᾶς ὑμῖν. ἀλλὰ Καῦνον δήπου
διακοσίων ταλάντων ἐξηγοράσαμεν παρὰ τῶν
Πτολεμαίου στρατηγῶν καὶ Στρατονίκειαν ἐλά-
βομεν ἐν μεγάλῃ χάριτι παρ' Ἀντιόχου τοῦ
7 Σελεύκου· καὶ παρὰ τούτων τῶν πόλεων ἀμφο-
τέρων ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι τάλαντα τῷ δήμῳ πρόσ-
8 οδος ἔπιπτε καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος. τούτων ἁπα-
σῶν ἐστερήμεθα τῶν προσόδων, θέλοντες πειθ-
9 αρχεῖν τοῖς ὑμετέροις προστάγμασιν. ἐξ ὧν μεί-
ζονα φόρον ἐπιτεθείκατε τοῖς Ῥοδίοις τῆς ἀγνοίας
ἢ Μακεδόσι τοῖς διὰ παντὸς πολεμίοις ὑμῖν
ὑπάρξασι. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον σύμπτωμα τῆς πό-
10 λεως· καταλέλυται γὰρ ἡ τοῦ λιμένος πρόσοδος
ὑμῶν, Δῆλον μὲν ἀτελῆ πεποιηκότων, ἀφῃρημέ-
νων δὲ τὴν τοῦ δήμου παρρησίαν, δι' ἧς καὶ <τὰ>
κατὰ τὸν λιμένα καὶ τἄλλα πάντα τῆς πόλεως
11 ἐτύγχανε τῆς ἁρμοζούσης προστασίας. ὅτι δὲ
12 τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀληθὲς οὐ δυσχερὲς καταμαθεῖν· τοῦ
γὰρ ἐλλιμενίου κατὰ τοὺς ἀνώτερον χρόνους
εὑρίσκοντος ἑκατὸν μυριάδας δραχμῶν, νῦν εὑρίσκει
πεντεκαίδεκα μυριάδας, ὥστε καὶ λίαν, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ῥωμαῖοι, τὴν ὑμετέραν ὀργὴν ἧφθαι τῶν κυρίων
13 πόρων τῆς πόλεως. εἰ μὲν <οὖν> συμβεβήκει
πάνδημον γεγονέναι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν καὶ τὴν ἀλλο-
τριότητα τοῦ δήμου, τάχ' ἴσως ἐδοκεῖτε κἂν
ὑμεῖς εὐλόγως ἐπίμονον καὶ δυσπαραίτητον ἔχειν
14 τὴν ὀργήν· εἰ δὲ σαφῶς ἴστε παντάπασιν ὀλίγους
γεγονότας αἰτίους τῆς τοιαύτης ἀλογίας, καὶ
τούτους ἅπαντας ἀπολωλότας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ
15 δήμου, τί πρὸς τοὺς μηδὲν αἰτίους ἀκαταλλάκτως

in revoking your gift now that we incur your suspicion and hostility you may seem to have acted reasonably. But as for Caunus, you will confess that we bought it from Ptolemy's generals for two hundred talents, and that Stratoniceia was given us as a great favour by Antiochus son of Seleucus. From these two towns our state derived an annual revenue of a hundred and twenty talents. We lose the whole of this revenue if we consent to obey your orders. From this you see that you have imposed a heavier tribute on the Rhodians for a single mistake than on the Macedonians who had always been your foes. But the greatest calamity inflicted on our town is this. The revenue we drew from our harbour has ceased owing to your having made Delos a free port, and deprived our people of that liberty by which our rights as regards our harbour and all the other rights of our city were properly guarded. It is not difficult to convince you of the truth of this. For while the harbour-dues in former times were farmed for a million drachmae, they now fetch only a hundred and fifty thousand, so that your displeasure, men of Rome, has only too heavily visited the vital resources of the state. Now, had the whole people been responsible for our error and estrangement from you, you might possibly with some show of justice maintain that displeasure and deny forgiveness, but if, as you know well, the authors of this folly were quite few in number and have all been put to death by the state itself, why do you refuse to be reconciled to men who

ἔχετε, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας εἶναι
16 δοκοῦντες πρᾳότατοι καὶ μεγαλοψυχότατοι; διό-
περ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀπολωλεκὼς ὁ δῆμος τὰς προσ-
όδους, τὴν παρρησίαν, τὴν ἰσολογίαν, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὸν
πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον πᾶν ἀναδεχόμενος διατετέλεκεν,
17 ἀξιοῖ καὶ δεῖται πάντων ὑμῶν, ἱκανὰς ἔχων πληγάς,
λήξαντας τῆς ὀργῆς διαλυθῆναι καὶ συνθέσθαι τὴν
συμμαχίαν, ἵνα γένηται τοῦτο συμφανὲς ἅπασιν
ὅτι τὴν μὲν ὀργὴν ἀποτέθεισθε τὴν πρὸς Ῥοδίους,
ἀνακεχωρήκατε δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς αἵρεσιν καὶ
18 φιλίαν. τούτου γὰρ χρείαν ἔχει νῦν ὁ δῆμος, οὐ
τῆς διὰ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ στρατιωτῶν συμμαχίας."
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ τούτοις παραπλήσια διαλεχθεὶς
Ἀστυμήδης ἐδόκει πρεπόντως τοῖς καιροῖς πε-
19 ποιῆσθαι τοὺς λόγους· πλεῖστά γε μὴν συνήργησαν
τοῖς Ῥοδίοις πρὸς τὸ τυχεῖν τῆς συμμαχίας οἱ
20 περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον ἄρτι παραγεγονότες. οὗτοι
γὰρ ἀπομαρτυρήσαντες πρῶτον μὲν πᾶσιν τοῖς
τῆς συγκλήτου δόγμασι πεπειθαρχηκέναι τοὺς
Ῥοδίους, ἔπειτα πάντας τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς ἀλλο-
τριότητος κατακεκρίσθαι θανάτου παρ' αὐτοῖς,
ἥττησαν τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας καὶ ἐποιήσαντο τὴν
πρὸς Ῥωμαίους συμμαχίαν.

32 Ὅτι μετά τινα χρόνον εἰσῆλθον οἱ παρὰ τῶν
(31 8) Ἀχαιῶν πρέσβεις, ἔχοντες ἐντολὰς ἀκολούθως
2 ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, αἷς πρότερον ἔλαβον· αὗται δ'
ἦσαν διότι θαυμάζουσιν πῶς, ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτοὶ
κεκρίκασι, περὶ τούτων αὐτοὺς παρακαλοῦσιν
3 κρίνειν. διὸ τότε παρῆσαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐρέαν,

were in no way to blame, you who are considered to be most lenient and magnanimous towards all other peoples? Therefore, gentlemen, the people of Rhodes who have lost their revenue, their liberty, and their equality, things for which in past times they were ready to endure any suffering, beg and entreat you all, now that they have been sufficiently chastised, to abate your anger, to be reconciled to us and to make the alliance in order that it may be evident to all men that you have now laid aside your anger against the Rhodians and have resumed your original friendly attitude; for it is of this that our people stands in need now and not of an ally to support them by arms and soldiers." In these and similar terms Astymedes addressed the senate, and he was thought to have spoken in a manner befitting the situation. The thing, however, which helped the Rhodians most to get their alliance was the recent arrival of Tiberius Gracchus and the other legates. For by testifying in the first place that the Rhodians had obeyed all the decrees of the senate and next that all those guilty of disaffection had been condemned to death at Rhodes, he overcame all opposition, and so the alliance with Rome was made.

Embassy from Achaea

32. Shortly afterwards the Achaean envoys entered, with instructions consequent on the answer they had previously received. This was that the senate were surprised that they should be asked to pronounce judgement on a matter already judged by the Achaeans. Owing to this Eureas and his colleagues

πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐμφανίζοντες διότι τὸ μὲν ἔθνος οὔτε δικαιολογουμένων ἀκήκοε τῶν κατῃτιαμένων οὔτε κρίσιν οὐδεμίαν πεποίηται περὶ αὐτῶν,
4 τὴν δὲ σύγκλητον ἀξιοῖ ππρόνοιαν οιήσασθαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα κρίσεως τύχωσι καὶ μὴ κατα-
5 φθαρῶσιν ἄκριτοι, καὶ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὴν ἐξετάσασαν διασαφῆσαι τοὺς ἐνόχους ὄντας τοῖς ἐγκλήμασιν· εἰ δὲ διὰ τοὺς περισπασμοὺς αὐτὴ μὴ δύναται τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐπιτρέψαι περὶ τοῦ πράγματος, οἳ πειράσονται μισοπονήρως
6 χρήσασθαι τοῖς αἰτίοις. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος διακούσασα τῶν πρεσβευτῶν, ἀκολούθως ταῖς ἐντολαῖς διαλεγομένων, καὶ δυσχρηστοῦσα διὰ τὸ
7 πανταχόθεν ἐξελέγχεσθαι· τό τε γὰρ κρίνειν οὐκ ἐνόμιζεν αὐτῇ καθήκειν, τό τε χωρὶς κρίσεως ἀπολύειν τοὺς ἄνδρας πρόδηλον ἔχειν ἐδόκει τὸν
8 ὄλεθρον τοῖς φίλοις αὐτῶν· διόπερ ἀναγκαζομένη καὶ βουλομένη παρελέσθαι καθόλου τὴν ἐλπίδα τῶν πολλῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν κατεχομένων σωτηρίας, ἵνα συμμύσαντες πειθαρχῶσιν ἐν μὲν Ἀχαΐᾳ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Καλλικράτην, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολιτεύμασι τοῖς δοκοῦσιν εἶναι Ῥωμαίων, ἔγραψαν
9 ἀπόκρισιν τοιαύτην, ὅτι ἡμεῖς οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνομεν συμφέρειν ‹οὔτε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις› οὔτε τοῖς ὑμετέροις δήμοις τούτους τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπανελθεῖν
10 εἰς οἶκον. ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἐκπεσούσης, οὐ μόνον περὶ τοὺς ἀνακεκλημένους ἐγένετό τις ὁλοσχερὴς ἀθυμία καὶ παράλυσις τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὡσανεὶ κοινόν τι πένθος, ἅτε δοκούσης τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ὁλοσχερῶς
11 ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ἀκληρούντων. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διαγγελθείσης

appeared on the present occasion to point out that the league had neither heard the defence of the accused nor pronounced any judgement on them, and they now begged the senate to consider the case of these men, and see that they were put on their trial, and not allowed to rot in exile unjudged. They begged the senate if possible to undertake the inquiry itself and to pronounce who were guilty of the charges; but if other calls on their time prevented this, to refer the matter to the Achaeans who would attempt to deal with the accused as their crimes merited. The senate, after listening to what the envoys said according to their instructions, found themselves in a quandary, as they were confronted by objections on all sides. They did not think it lay with them to pronounce judgement, while to set free the men without trial meant, they thought, the certain destruction of their own friends. Therefore, forced by circumstances, and wishing to cut short once for all the hope of the populace that those in detention might be saved, with the object of shutting people's mouths and making them obedient to the party of Callicrates in Achaea, and to those in other states who were thought to be the friends of Rome, they gave a written answer in these words: "We do not think it the interest either of Rome or of your peoples that these men should return home." Upon this answer being issued not only did the Achaeans who had been summoned to Italy fall into a state of utter despondency and helplessness, but all the Greeks in Rome went as it were into mourning, since the answer seemed to deprive the unhappy sufferers of all hope of restoration. And when the answer

<τῆς> ἀποκρίσεως τῆς τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς δεδομένης
ὑπὲρ τῶν καταιτιαθέντων, τὰ μὲν πλήθη συν-
ετρίβη ταῖς διανοίαις, καί τις οἷον ἀπελπισμὸς
12 ὑπέδραμεν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν
Χάροπα καὶ Καλλικράτην καὶ πάντες οἱ τῆς
αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως προεστῶτες μετέωροι πάλιν
ἐγενήθησαν.

given to the Achaeans on the subject of the accused was announced in Greece, the spirits of the people were crushed and something like despair everywhere prevailed. But Charops and Callicrates and the defenders of their policy were again in high spirits.

FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXI

I. Res Italiae

1 Ὅτι Τεβέριος τοὺς Καμμανοὺς τὰ μὲν βιασά-
(9) μενος, τὰ δὲ παραλογισάμενος ὑπηκόους ἐποίησε
Ῥωμαίοις.

2 Εἰς δὲ τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ πλειόνων παραγεγο-
νότων <πρεσβευτῶν> ἐχρημάτισεν ἡ σύγκλητος
3 τοῖς περὶ Ἄτταλον καὶ τὸν Ἀθήναιον. συνέβαινε
γὰρ τὸν Προυσίαν οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν ἐνεργῶς κε-
χρῆσθαι ταῖς διαβολαῖς ταῖς κατὰ τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ
τὸν Ἀντίοχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Γαλάτας παρωξυ-
κέναι καὶ τοὺς Σελγεῖς καὶ πλείους ἑτέρους κατὰ
4 τὴν Ἀσίαν πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπόθεσιν. ὧν χάριν
ὁ βασιλεὺς Εὐμένης ἐξαπεστάλκει τοὺς ἀδελφούς,
ἀπολογησομένους πρὸς τὰς ἐπιφερομένας δια-
5 βολάς. οἳ καὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον
ἐνδεχομένως ἔδοξαν πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς κατηγο-
ροῦντας ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀπολογίαν, καὶ τέλος οὐ
μόνον ἀποτριψάμενοι τὰς ἐπιφερομένας αἰτίας,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμηθέντες ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν.
6 οὐ μὴν τῆς γε κατὰ τὸν Εὐμένη καὶ κατὰ τὸν
Ἀντίοχον ὑποψίας ἔληγεν ἡ σύγκλητος, ἀλλὰ

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXI

I. Affairs of Italy

(Cp. Livy, epit. xlvi.)

1. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus subjected to the Romans the Cammani[a] partly by force and partly by fraud. 164–163 B.C.

Embassy from Eumenes

Several embassies arrived at Rome this year, and the senate dealt with that headed by Attalus and Athenaeus. For Prusias had not only pushed the accusations he brought himself against Eumenes and Antiochus, but had instigated the Galatians, the people of Selge and other Asiatic peoples to bring similar complaints. In consequence of this Eumenes had sent his brothers to defend him against all these charges. When they appeared before the senate it was thought that they made a satisfactory defence against all the accusers, and finally having not only freed Eumenes from the charges but having received special marks of honour they returned to Asia. The senate, however, did not cease to entertain suspicions of Eumenes and Antiochus, but appointed and

[a] An Asiatic people.

Γάιον Σολπίκιον καὶ Μάνιον Σέργιον καταστή-
7 σασα πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαπέστελλεν, ἅμα μὲν ἐποπτεύ-
σοντας τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἅμα δὲ τοῖς Μεγα-
λοπολίταις καὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις διευκρινήσον-
8 τας περὶ τῆς ἀντιλεγομένης χώρας, μάλιστα δὲ
πολυπραγμονήσοντας τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἀντίοχον καὶ
τὰ κατὰ τὸν Εὐμένη, μή τις ἐξ αὐτῶν παρασκευὴ
γίνεται καὶ κοινοπραγία κατὰ Ῥωμαίων.

2 Ὅτι Δημήτριος ὁ τοῦ Σελεύκου πολὺν ἤδη
(12) χρόνον κατεχόμενος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τὴν ὁμη-
ρείαν πάλαι μὲν ἐδόκει παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον κατ-
2 έχεσθαι· δοθῆναι γὰρ ὑπὸ Σελεύκου τοῦ πατρὸς
τῆς ἐκείνου πίστεως ἕνεκεν, Ἀντιόχου δὲ μετ-
ειληφότος τὴν βασιλείαν οὐκ ὀφείλειν ὑπὲρ <τῶν>
3 ἐκείνου τέκνων ὁμηρεύειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν
πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον ἦγε τὴν ἡσυχίαν, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ
4 τὴν ἀδυναμίαν· ἦν γὰρ ἔτι παῖς· τότε δὲ τὴν
ἀκμαιοτάτην ἔχων ἡλικίαν ἐποιήσατο λόγους,
εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἀξιῶν καὶ παρα-
καλῶν κατάγειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν· καθήκειν
γὰρ αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς Ἀντιόχου τέκνοις τὴν
5 ἀρχήν. διαθεμένου δὲ καὶ πλείονας λόγους αὐτοῦ
πρὸς τὴν προειρημένην ὑπόθεσιν καὶ μάλιστα
προσδραμόντος ἐν τῷ λέγειν, διότι συμβαίνει καὶ
πατρίδα καὶ τροφὸν τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ,
καὶ τοὺς μὲν υἱοὺς τῶν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου σύμπαντας
ἀδελφῶν ἔχειν διάθεσιν, τοὺς δὲ βουλευτὰς πατέ-
ρων διὰ τὸ παραγενέσθαι μὲν ἔτι νήπιος, τότε δὲ
κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπάρχειν ἐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ τριῶν,
6 <ἐν>ετρέποντο μὲν ἅπαντες ἀκούοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς,
κοινῇ γε μὴν ἔδοξε τῇ συγκλήτῳ τὸν μὲν Δημή-

dispatched Gaius Sulpicius and Manius Sergius as legates to observe the state of affairs in Greece, to decide the question of the territory in dispute between Megalopolis and Lacedaemon, but chiefly to inquire diligently into the proceedings of Antiochus and Eumenes in case they were making any preparations to attack Rome and acting in concert against her.

Measures taken regarding Syria, Macedonia, and Egypt

2. Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, had now been held in hostage at Rome for many years, and it had long been thought that his detention was unjust, since he had been given by his father Seleucus as a hostage for his own good faith, and now that Antiochus had succeeded to the crown he should not be required to serve as hostage for the children of Seleucus. He had, however, taken no steps previously, chiefly owing to want of capacity, as he was still a boy. But now, having fully come to years of discretion, he appeared before the senate and addressing that house begged and entreated to be sent home to assume the crown, to which he said he had a better claim than the children of Antiochus. When he had spoken at considerable length in this sense and especially appealed to his hearers by saying that Rome was his fatherland and his nurse, that the sons of the senators were all like brothers to him and the senators themselves like fathers, since he had come to Rome when quite an infant and was now twenty-three years of age, they were all personally affected, but their public decision was to keep Demetrius in Rome and

τριον κατασχεῖν, τῷ δὲ καταλελειμμένῳ παιδὶ
7 συγκατασκευάζειν τὴν ἀρχήν. τοῦτο δ' ἐποίησεν,
ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ὑπιδομένη τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ Δημη-
τρίου, μᾶλλον δὲ κρίνασα συμφέρειν τοῖς σφετέροις
πράγμασι τὴν νεότητα καὶ τὴν ἀδυναμίαν τοῦ
8 παιδὸς τοῦ διαδεδεγμένου τὴν βασιλείαν. ἐγέ-
νετο δὲ τοῦτο δῆλον ἐκ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα συμβάντων.
9 εὐθέως γὰρ καταστήσαντες πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς περὶ
Γνάιον Ὀκτάουιον καὶ Σπόριον Λοκρήτιον καὶ
Λεύκιον Αὐρήλιον ἐξέπεμψαν, τοὺς διοικήσοντας
10 τὰ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ὡς αὐτὴ προῃρεῖτο διὰ τὸ
μηδένα τὸν ἐμποδὼν στησόμενον εἶναι τοῖς ἐπι-
ταττομένοις, τοῦ μὲν βασιλέως παιδὸς ὄντος, τῶν
δὲ προεστώτων ἀσμενιζόντων ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ παρα-
δεδόσθαι τὰ πράγματα τῷ Δημητρίῳ· μάλιστα
11 γὰρ τοῦτο προσεδόκων. οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν
Γνάιον ἐξώρμησαν, ἔχοντες ἐντολὰς πρῶτον μὲν
τὰς ναῦς τὰς καταφράκτους διαπρῆσαι, μετὰ δὲ
ταῦτα τοὺς ἐλέφαντας νευροκοπῆσαι καὶ καθόλου
12 λυμήνασθαι τὴν βασίλειον δύναμιν. προσενετεί-
λαντο δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπι-
σκέψασθαι· συνέβαινε γὰρ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀήθεις
ὄντας δημοκρατικῆς καὶ συνεδριακῆς πολιτείας
13 στασιάζειν πρὸς αὐτούς. ἔδει δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν
Γνάιον καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς Γαλάτας καὶ τὰ κατὰ
14 τὴν Ἀριαράθου βασιλείαν ἐποπτεῦσαι. μετὰ δέ
τινα χρόνον αὐτοῖς ἐπαπεστάλη γράμματα παρὰ τῆς
συγκλήτου καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ βασιλεῖς δια-
λῦσαι κατὰ δύναμιν.

3 Ὅτι παρεγένοντο κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν παρ'
(14) Ἀριαράθου τοῦ νεωστὶ διαδεδεγμένου τὴν Καπ-

help to establish on the throne the surviving child of Antiochus IV. The senate acted thus, in my opinion, because they were suspicious of a king in the prime of life like Demetrius and thought that the youth and incapacity of the boy who had succeeded to the throne would serve their purpose better. This was made evident by what happened afterwards. For they at once named as legates Gnaeus Octavius, Spurius Lucretius, and Lucius Aurelius and dispatched them to Syria to manage the affairs of that kingdom as the senate determined, there being no one likely to oppose their orders, since the king was a child and the principal people were only too glad that the government had not been put in the hands of Demetrius, as they had been almost certain it would be. Octavius and his colleagues thereupon left, with orders in the first place to burn the decked warships, next to hamstring the elephants, and by every means to cripple the royal power. They were also ordered to look into the affairs of Macedonia; for the Macedonians, being unaccustomed to democratic and parliamentary government, were quarrelling among themselves. The legates also had to report on the condition of Galatia and the kingdom of Ariarathes, and shortly afterwards they received a dispatch from the senate ordering them to do all in their power to reconcile the kings in Alexandria.

Embassy from Ariarathes

3. At the same time envoys arrived from Ariarathes, who had recently succeeded to the throne of Cap-

παδοκῶν βασιλείαν πρέσβεις, ἀνανεωσόμενοι τήν
τε φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν,
2 καὶ καθόλου παρακαλέσοντες τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπο-
δέξασθαι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εὔνοιαν καὶ προθυμίαν,
ἣν ἔχει καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν πρὸς ἅπαντας
3 Ῥωμαίους. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος διακούσασα τῶν
λόγων τήν τε φιλίαν ἀνενεώσατο καὶ τὴν συμ-
μαχίαν καὶ καθόλου τὴν ὅλην αἵρεσιν ἀποδεξαμένη
4 τοῦ βασιλέως φιλανθρώπως ἐγενήθη. τοῦτο δ'
ἐγένετο μάλιστα διὰ τὸ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον,
καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐξαπεστάλησαν ἐπισκεψόμενοι τὰ
κατὰ τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ἐπανελθόντας εὐφήμους λό-
γους ποιήσασθαι περί τε τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ καθόλου
5 τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν. οἷς πιστεύσαντες οἱ τοῦ
συνεδρίου τούς τε πρεσβευτὰς φιλανθρώπως ἀπ-
εδέξαντο καὶ τὴν ὅλην αἵρεσιν τοῦ βασιλέως.

II. Res Graeciae

4 Ὅτι Ῥόδιοι διαπεπνευκότες ἐκ τῆς περὶ αὐτοὺς
(15) (16) γενομένης δυσχερείας ἔπεμπον εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην
2 πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς περὶ Κλεαγόραν, Κάλυνδα μὲν
3 ἀξιώσοντας σφίσι παραχωρηθῆναι, περὶ δὲ τῶν
ἐχόντων ἐν τῇ Λυκίᾳ καὶ Καρίᾳ κτήσεις αἰτησο-
μένους τὴν σύγκλητον, ἵν' αὐτοῖς ἔχειν ἐξῇ, καθὰ
4 καὶ πρότερον. ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ κολοσσὸν
στῆσαι τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷ τῆς
Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῷ τριακοντάπηχυν.

5 Ὅτι τῶν Καλυνδέων ἀποστάντων Καυνίων, καὶ
(16) (17) μετὰ ταῦτα πολιορκεῖν ἐπιβαλομένων αὐτοὺς τῶν
Καυνίων, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἐπεκαλέσαντο Κνιδίους
2 οἱ Καλυνδεῖς· ὧν καὶ παραπεσόντων κατὰ βοή-

padocia, to renew the previously existing alliance, and to beg the senate in general to avail themselves of the friendship and goodwill borne by that king towards the Roman state and all its citizens. The senate, after listening to their speech, renewed the alliance and replied in courteous terms, approving in general the king's attitude. This was chiefly owing to the fact that Tiberius and the other legates, when they were sent to inquire into the conduct of the kings, had on their return reported favourably concerning this king's father and the general state of the kingdom. Relying on this report the senate received the embassy courteously and approved the king's attitude.

II. Affairs of Greece

Rhodes and Caria

4. The Rhodians, delivered from their difficult position, now breathed freely and sent Cleagoras on an embassy to Rome to beg that Calynda might be ceded to them and to ask the senate to allow those of their citizens who owned property in Lycia and Caria to hold possession of it as before. They also voted to erect in the temple of Athena a colossal statue of the Roman People thirty cubits high.

5. Upon Calynda revolting from Caunus and the Caunians undertaking the siege of the city, the Calyndians at first appealed to Cnidus for help. With the aid of the Cnidians they held out for a

3 θειαν, ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἀντεῖχον τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις, ἀγωνι-
ῶντες δὲ τὸ μέλλον πρεσβεύειν μὲν . . ., ἐγχειρί-
4 ζοντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν. οἱ δὲ Ῥόδιοι
πέμψαντες βοήθειαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατ-
ταν τήν τε πολιορκίαν ἔλυσαν καὶ παρέλαβον
5 τὴν πόλιν. συνέβη δὲ καὶ τὴν σύγκλητον αὐτοῖς
βεβαιῶσαι τὴν τῶν Καλυνδέων κτῆσιν.

III. Res Asiae

6 Ὅτι Γάιος ὁ Γάλλος, χωρὶς τῶν ἄρτι ῥηθέντων
(10) ἀλογημάτων, παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκ-
θέματα κατὰ τὰς πόλεις ἐξέθηκε τὰς ἐπιφανε-
2 στάτας, κελεύων, εἴ τις βούλεται κατηγορεῖν Εὐ-
μένους τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀπαντᾶν εἰς Σάρδεις ἐπί τινα
3 χρόνον ὡρισμένον. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παραγενηθεὶς
αὐτὸς εἰς τὰς Σάρδεις, ἀποκαθίσας ἐν τῷ γυμ-
νασίῳ περὶ δέχ᾽ ἡμέρας διήκουε τῶν κατηγορούν-
4 των, πᾶσαν ἐπιδεχόμενος αἰσχρολογίαν καὶ λοι-
δορίαν κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ καθόλου πᾶν ἕλκων
5 πρᾶγμα καὶ κατηγορίαν, ἅτε παρεστηκὼς ἄν-
θρωπος τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ φιλοδοξῶν ἐν τῇ πρὸς
Εὐμένην διαφορᾷ.
6 Ὅτι καθ᾽ ὅσον ἐδόκουν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι βαρύτερον
τῷ Εὐμένει προσφέρεσθαι, κατὰ τοσοῦτο συν-
έβαινε τοὺς Ἕλληνας προσοικειοῦσθαι, φύσει τῶν
ἀνθρώπων ἀεὶ τῷ θλιβομένῳ τὴν εὔνοιαν προσ-
νεμόντων.
7 Ὁ δὲ Ἀριαράθης ὁ βασιλεὺς Καππαδοκίας προσ-
(17) (15) δεδεγμένος τοὺς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀποσταλέντας
πρεσβευτάς, νομίσας ἐκ τῶν ἀποκρίσεων ἐν ὀρθῷ
κεῖσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῷ <νῦν>, ἐπειδὴ καθῖκται

time against the enemy, but fearing for the future decided to send an embassy to Rhodes, to put their city in the hands of the Rhodians. The Rhodians, sending succour by sea and land, raised the siege and occupied the city, the possession of which was secured to them by the senate.

III. Affairs of Asia

6. Gaius Sulpicius Gallus, besides the indiscretions I have just mentioned, upon reaching Asia posted up notices in the principal towns, ordering all who wished to bring accusations against King Eumenes to present themselves at Sardis by a given date. Afterwards, when he himself arrived at Sardis, he sat for about ten days in the gymnasium listening to the accusers, admitting any kind of foul and abusive language against the king, and in general attaching weight to every fact and every accusation, being a man whose mind was deranged and who gloried in his quarrel with Eumenes.

The harsher the conduct of the Romans to Eumenes the more attached to him did the Greeks become, since men naturally bestow their affections on any one who is in distress.

Ariarathes of Cappadocia

7. Ariarathes, the king of Cappadocia, on the return of the envoys he had sent to Rome, thinking from the answers he received that his kingdom was now on a safe footing, since he had succeeded

τῆς Ῥωμαίων εὐνοίας, ἔθυε τοῖς θεοῖς χαριστήρια
2 τῶν γεγονότων καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας εἱστία. μετὰ
δὲ ταῦτα πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ
τὸν Λυσίαν εἰς τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, σπουδάζων
ἀνακομίσασθαι τὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ μητρὸς ὀστᾶ.
3 τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐγκαλεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γεγονότος ἀ-
σεβήματος ἀπεδοκίμαζεν, οὐ βουλόμενος ἐρεθίζειν
τοὺς περὶ τὸν Λυσίαν, ἵνα μὴ διαψευσθῇ τῆς
προθέσεως, καίπερ βαρέως φέρων τὸ γεγονός·
ἀξιωματικὰς δὲ δοὺς ἐντολὰς ἐξαπέστειλε τοὺς
4 πρέσβεις. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Λυσίαν συγχωρη-
σάντων, καὶ τῶν ὀστῶν ἀνακομισθέντων ὡς
αὐτόν, ἀποδεξάμενος μεγαλομερῶς τὴν παρουσίαν
αὐτῶν ἔθαψε παρὰ τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς τάφον κηδε-
μονικῶς.

8 Ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους παρεγένοντο
(13) πρέσβεις ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης πρῶτον μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν
Μάρκον Ἰούνιον, διευκρινήσοντες τὰ πρὸς τοὺς
2 Γαλάτας διαφέροντα τῷ βασιλεῖ. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ
οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν οἱ Τρόκμοι δι' αὑτῶν ἀποτεμέσθαι
τῆς Καππαδοκίας οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἐκ χειρὸς . . . ᾠκο-
δομήσαντο τὴν δίκην ἐπιβαλόμενοι τολμᾶν, κατα-
φυγόντες ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους διαβάλλειν ἐπειρῶντο
3 τὸν Ἀριαράθην. ὧν χάριν ἀπεστάλησαν οἱ περὶ
τὸν Ἰούνιον. πρὸς οὓς ὁ βασιλεὺς ποιησάμενος
τοὺς ἁρμόζοντας λόγους καὶ τἆλλα φιλανθρώπως
ὁμιλήσας ἐκείνους μὲν εὐλογοῦντας ἀπέστειλε.
4 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα, παραγενομένων πρεσβευτῶν τῶν
περὶ Γνάιον Ὀκτάουιον καὶ Σπόριον Λοκρήτιον
καὶ διαλεγομένων τῷ βασιλεῖ πάλιν <περὶ> τῶν
5 πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας αὐτῷ διαφερόντων, βραχέα
περὶ τούτων κοινολογησάμενος καὶ φήσας εὐεπ-

in gaining the goodwill of the Romans, paid a thank-offering to the gods for his success and gave a banquet to his nobles. After this he sent envoys to Lysias[a] at Antioch, being anxious to recover the bones of his sister and mother. He thought it better not to accuse Lysias of the crime, as he did not wish to irritate him for fear of being disappointed in his object, although he was deeply aggrieved, but dispatched the envoys with instructions simply to proffer the request. Lysias granted it, and upon the bones being brought back to him, he gave them a splendid reception on their arrival and buried them reverently beside his father's tomb.

8. About this time legates arrived from Rome, in the first place Marcus Junius, to settle the difference between the Galatians and King Ariarathes. For since the Trocmi could not succeed by their own efforts in obtaining a slice of Cappadocia, but when they ventured on the attempt at once met with the punishment they deserved, they appealed to Rome and attempted to traduce Ariarathes. It was for this reason that Junius was sent. The king having addressed him in a suitable manner and behaved to him in other respects with every courtesy, was thanked by this legate before his departure; and when in the next place Gnaeus Octavius and Spurius Lucretius arrived and again spoke to Ariarathes about his difference with the Galatians, the king, after briefly touching on this matter and saying

[a] The minister of Antiochus Eupator.

ἄγωγος εἶναι πρὸς τὸ κριθέν, λοιπὸν ἤδη τὸν
πλείω λόγον ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ Συρίαν ἐποιεῖτο
πραγμάτων, εἰδὼς ἐκεῖσε προάγοντας τοὺς περὶ
6 τὸν Ὀκτάουιον, ὑποδεικνύων αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀκατα-
στασίαν τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τὴν εἰκαιότητα τῶν
προεστώτων αὐτῆς καὶ προσεπαγγελλόμενος
ἀκολουθήσειν μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ συνεφεδρεύειν
τοῖς καιροῖς, ἕως ἂν ἐπανέλθωσι πάλιν ἐκ τῆς
7 Συρίας ἀσφαλῶς. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Γνάιον ἐν
πᾶσιν ἀποδεχόμενοι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως εὔνοιαν
καὶ προθυμίαν κατὰ μὲν τὸ παρὸν οὐκ ἔφασαν
8 προσδεῖσθαι τῆς παραπομπῆς, εἰς δὲ τὸ μέλλον,
ἐάν τις ὑποπίπτῃ χρεία, διασαφήσειν ἀόκνως·
κρίνειν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἕνα τῶν ἀληθινῶν Ῥωμαίοις
φίλων.

9 Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν Ἀντίοχος ὁ βασιλεὺς
(11) βουλόμενος εὐπορῆσαι χρημάτων προέθετο στρα-
τεύειν ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εἰς τὴν Ἐλυ-
2 μαΐδα. παραγενόμενος δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς τόπους καὶ
διαψευσθεὶς τῆς ἐλπίδος διὰ τὸ μὴ συγχωρεῖν τῇ
παρανομίᾳ τοὺς βαρβάρους <τοὺς> οἰκοῦντας περὶ
3 τὸν τόπον, ἀναχωρῶν ἐν Τάβαις τῆς Περσίδος
4 ἐξέλιπε τὸν βίον, δαιμονήσας, ὥς ἔνιοί φασι, διὰ
τὸ γενέσθαι τινὰς ἐπισημασίας τοῦ δαιμονίου κατὰ
τὴν περὶ τὸ προειρημένον ἱερὸν παρανομίαν.

IV. Res Italiae

10 Ὅτι μετὰ τὸ μερίσαι τοὺς Πτολεμαίους τὴν
(18)

that he would be ready to bow to their decision, went on to talk about the affairs of Syria, as he knew that Octavius and his colleague were going on there. He called their attention to the unsettled state of the kingdom and the unprincipled character of its rulers, and in addition he offered to accompany them with an armed force and wait to see what turn matters took until they returned safely from Syria. The legates, while gratefully acknowledging the king's kindness and zeal in every respect, said that they did not require the escort for the present, but as regards the future, if they had need of any such service they would have no hesitation in informing him, regarding him as they did, as one of the true friends of Rome.

Death of Antiochus Epiphanes

9. In Syria King Antiochus, wishing to provide himself with money, decided to make an expedition against the sanctuary of Artemis in Elymaïs. On reaching the spot he was foiled in his hopes, as the barbarian tribes who dwelt in the neighbourhood would not permit the outrage, and on his retreat he died at Tabae in Persia, smitten with madness, as some people say, owing to certain manifestations of divine displeasure when he was attempting this outrage on the above sanctuary.

IV. Affairs of Italy

The Rival Ptolemies

10. After the two Ptolemies had partitioned the 163–162 B.C.

βασιλείαν παρεγένετο Πτολεμαῖος ὁ νεώτερος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἀθετεῖν βουλόμενος τὸν γεγονότα
2 μερισμὸν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφόν, φάσκων οὐχ ἑκών, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἀνάγκην τῷ καιρῷ περιληφθεὶς
3 πεποιηκέναι τὸ προσταττόμενον. καὶ παρεκάλει τὴν σύγκλητον μερίσαι τὴν Κύπρον αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ τούτου γενομένου καταδεεστέραν ἕξειν μερίδα
4 τἀδελφοῦ παρὰ πολύ. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Κανολήιον καὶ Κόιντον ἀπομαρτυρούντων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μένυλλον, τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου παραγεγονόσι πρεσβευταῖς, διότι καὶ τὴν Κυρήνην ὁ νεώτερος καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα δι' αὐτοὺς ἔχοι· τοιαύτην ‹γὰρ› γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν ὄχλων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀλλο-
5 τριότητα καὶ προσκοπήν· διὸ καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα καὶ παραδόξως δεδομένων αὐτῷ τῶν κατὰ Κυρήνην πραγμάτων ἀσμένως δέξαιτο, καὶ σφαγίων τμηθέντων καὶ λάβοι τοὺς ὅρκους παρὰ τἀδελφοῦ καὶ
6 δοίη περὶ τούτου· τοῦ δὲ Πτολεμαίου πᾶσι τούτοις ἀντιλέγοντος, ἡ σύγκλητος, ἅμα μὲν ὁρῶσα τὸν μερισμὸν . . . γεγονότα τελέως, ἅμα δὲ βουλομένη διελεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν πραγματικῶς, αὐτῶν αἰτίων γενομένων τῆς διαιρέσεως, συγκατέθετο τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ νεωτέρου παρακαλουμένοις ἐπὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ
7 συμφέροντι. πολὺ γὰρ ἤδη τοῦτο τὸ γένος ἐστὶ τῶν διαβουλίων παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις, ἐν οἷς διὰ τῆς τῶν πέλας ἀγνοίας αὔξουσι καὶ κατασκευάζονται τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρχὴν πραγματικῶς, ἅμα χαριζόμενοι καὶ δοκοῦντες εὐεργετεῖν τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας.
8 διὸ καὶ καθορῶντες τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δυναστείας καὶ δεδιότες, ἄν ποτε τύχῃ προστάτου,
9 μὴ μεῖζον φρονήσῃ τοῦ καθήκοντος, κατέστησαν πρεσβευτὰς Τίτον Τορκουᾶτον καὶ Γνάιον Μερόλαν

kingdom the younger brother arrived in Rome, wishing to annul the terms of the partition between himself and his brother, saying that he had done what he was ordered not of his own free will, but forced to consent by the pressure of circumstances. He begged the senate to assign Cyprus to him, for even with this addition his share would be much inferior to his brother's. Canuleius and Quintus testified in favour of Menyllus the envoy of the elder brother, saying that the younger brother owed both Cyrene and his life to their own action, so great was the hostility and aversion with which the populace regarded him. When, therefore, contrary to his expectations and hopes the sovereignty of Cyrene had been given to him, he had been only too glad to accept it and had exchanged oaths with his brother as to this over victims solemnly immolated. All this was denied by the younger Ptolemy, and the senate, seeing that the division had been quite unfair and wishing to make an effective partition of the kingdom due to themselves, acceded to the request of the younger brother, which coincided with their own interests. For many decisions of the Romans are now of this kind: availing themselves of the mistakes of others they effectively increase and build up their own power, at the same time doing a favour and appearing to confer a benefit on the offenders. So, seeing as they did the size of the Egyptian kingdom, and fearing lest if it once fell into the hands of a ruler capable of protecting it, he might have too high an idea of himself, they appointed Titus Torquatus and Gnaeus

τοὺς κατάξοντας ἐπὶ τὴν Κύπρον τὸν Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τελειώσοντας ἅμα τὴν ἐκείνων καὶ τὴν αὑτῶν
10 πρόθεσιν. καὶ παραχρῆμα τούτους ἐξαπέστειλαν, δόντες ἐντολὰς διαλῦσαι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς καὶ κατασκευάσαι τῷ νεωτέρῳ τὴν Κύπρον χωρὶς πολέμου.

11 Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον προσπεσούσης
(19) 2 τῆς περὶ τὸν Γνάιον περιπετείας, ὡς ἀνῃρέθη, καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀντιόχου πρεσβευόντων, ὧν ὁ Λυσίας ἔπεμψε, παραγεγονότων καὶ πολλοὺς διαθεμένων λόγους ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ κεκοινωνηκέναι
3 τῆς πράξεως τοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως φίλους, ἡ μὲν σύγκλητος παρέπεμπε τοὺς πρεσβευτάς, οὐ βουλομένη διδόναι περὶ τούτων ἀπόφασιν οὐδεμίαν οὐδ᾽
4 ἐκτίθεσθαι καθόλου τὴν αὑτῆς γνώμην, ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος πτοηθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἠγγελμένοις ἐξ αὐτῆς προσεκάλει τὸν Πολύβιον καὶ προσανέφερεν διαπορῶν εἰ δεῖ πάλιν ἐντυχεῖν τῇ συγκλήτῳ περὶ
5 τῶν καθ᾽ αὑτόν. ὁ δὲ παρεκάλει μὴ δὶς πρὸς ‹τὸν› αὐτὸν λίθον πταίειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν καὶ τολμᾶν τι βασιλείας ἄξιον· πολλὰς γὰρ ὑποδεικνύειν ἀφορμὰς τοὺς ἐνεστῶτας
6 καιρούς. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος συννοήσας τὸ λεγόμενον τότε μὲν ἀπεσιώπησεν, μετ᾽ ὀλίγον δέ τινι τῶν συνήθων Ἀπολλωνίῳ μετέδωκε περὶ τῶν
7 αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ προειρημένος, ἄκακος ὢν καὶ κομιδῇ νέος, συνεβούλευε πεῖραν ἔτι λαβεῖν τῆς συγκλήτου· πεπεῖσθαι γάρ, ἐπεὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἀλόγως αὐτὸν ἐστέρησεν, τῆς γ᾽ ὁμηρείας αὐτὸν

Merula as legates to accompany Ptolemy to Cyprus and carry out the purpose of that king and their own. They dispatched them at once with orders to reconcile the brothers and establish the younger brother in Cyprus without war.

Escape of Demetrius from Rome

11. At this time when the news arrived of the calamity that had happened to Gnaeus Octavius, how he had been assassinated, and when the envoys sent by Lysias on behalf of King Antiochus appeared and were profuse in their assurances that the friends of the king had had no part in the deed, the senate paid scant attention to the embassy, not wishing to pronounce any decision on the matter or to express in any manner their opinion. But Demetrius, excited by the news, at once sent for Polybius and submitted to him his doubt as to whether or not he should address the senate again on the question of his own situation. Polybius begged him not to stumble twice on the same stone, but to trust in himself and take some bold course worthy of a throne; for, he said, there were many opportunities for action suggested by the present situation. Demetrius understood this advice and held his peace for the present, but shortly afterwards communicated with one of his intimate friends, Apollonius, about the same matter. This man, being of an unsuspecting character and quite young, advised him to try the senate once more, for he felt sure, that as they had unjustly deprived him of his kingdom, they would at least release him from his

8 ἀπολύσειν· ἄτοπον γὰρ εἶναι τελέως, Ἀντιόχου
τοῦ παιδὸς διαδεδεγμένου τὴν ἐν Συρίᾳ βασιλείαν,
9 Δημήτριον ὁμηρεύειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. τούτοις μὲν
οὖν τοῖς λόγοις πεισθεὶς πάλιν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν
σύγκλητον ὁ προειρημένος καὶ παρεκάλει τῆς γε
κατὰ τὴν ὁμηρείαν ἀνάγκης αὐτὸν ἀπολύειν, ἐπεὶ
τὴν βασιλείαν ἔκριναν Ἀντιόχῳ συγκατασκευάζειν.
10 καὶ πλείω δὲ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν αὐτοῦ
διαλεχθέντος, ἔμεινεν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς
11 αἱρέσεως· ὅπερ εἰκὸς ἦν. καὶ γὰρ πρότερον οὐ
διὰ τὸ μὴ λέγειν τὰ δίκαια τὸν Δημήτριον ἔκρινεν
τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ παιδὶ συνδιαφυλάττειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ
12 τὸ συμφέρειν τοῖς σφετέροις πράγμασιν, μενόντων
δὲ τῶν ὅλων ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς διαθέσεως μένειν εἰκὸς
ἦν καὶ τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου διάληψιν ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς
προαιρέσεως.

12 Πλὴν ὅ γε Δημήτριος μάτην ἐξᾴσας τὸ κύκνειον
(20) καὶ γνοὺς ὅτι καλῶς αὐτῷ συνεβούλευεν ὁ Πολύβιος
2 μὴ δὶς πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν λίθον πταίειν, μεταμεληθεὶς
ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν, ἅμα δὲ καὶ φύσει μεγαλόφρων
ὑπάρχων καὶ τόλμαν ἱκανὴν ἔχων πρὸς τὸ κριθέν,
εὐθέως ἐκάλει Διόδωρον προσφάτως ἐκ τῆς
Συρίας παραγεγονότα καὶ μετεδίδου περὶ τῶν
3 καθ' αὑτόν. ὁ δὲ Διόδωρος τροφεὺς μὲν ἐγεγόνει
τοῦ Δημητρίου, πανοῦργος δ' ὢν καὶ κατωπτευκὼς
ἐπιμελῶς τὰ κατὰ τὴν Συρίαν ὑπεδείκνυεν αὐτῷ,
4 διότι τῶν μὲν ἐκεῖ τεταραγμένων διὰ τὸν Γναΐου
φόνον, καὶ διαπιστούντων τῶν μὲν πολλῶν τοῖς
περὶ τὸν Λυσίαν, τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Λυσίαν τοῖς
πολλοῖς, τῆς δὲ συγκλήτου πεπεισμένης ἐκ τῶν
τοῦ βασιλέως φίλων γεγονέναι τὴν εἰς τοὺς σφε-
τέρους πρεσβευτὰς παρανομίαν, κάλλιστον εἶναι

position as hostage, since it was quite unreasonable that now, when the young Antiochus had succeeded to the throne of Syria, Demetrius should serve as hostage for him. Persuaded by this reasoning Demetrius again appeared before the senate and begged the house to release him at least from his obligation as hostage, as they had decided to secure the throne to Antiochus. After he had spoken at some length in this sense, the senate adhered to its original resolve, as was only to be expected. For on the former occasion it was not because Demetrius was not right in what he said that they had decided to keep the young king on the throne, but because it suited their own interest. And as the conditions remained the same, it was to be expected that the decision of the senate should be based on the same policy.

12. But Demetrius, having sung his swan's song in vain and recognizing the soundness of Polybius's advice not to stumble twice on the same stone, repented of what he had done, but, being naturally high-spirited and having courage adequate to carry out his designs, at once called Diodorus who had recently arrived from Syria and informed him of his position. Diodorus had been the foster-father of Demetrius; he was an able man and had carefully studied the situation in Syria, and he now pointed out to Demetrius that since great disturbance prevailed there owing to the murder of Octavius, since Lysias and the populace mutually distrusted each other, and since the senate was convinced that the outrage on their envoys had been due to the king's friends, the time was very

5 καιρὸν ἐπιφανῆναι τοῖς πράγμασιν· ταχέως γὰρ
τοὺς μὲν ἐκεῖ μεταρρίψειν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς
αὐτόν, κἂν ὅλως μετὰ παιδὸς ἑνὸς ποιήσηται τὴν
παρουσίαν, τὴν δὲ σύγκλητον οὐ τολμήσειν ἔτι
βοηθεῖν οὐδὲ συνεπισχύειν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Λυσίαν
6 τοιαῦτα διεργασαμένοις. λοιπὸν εἶναι τὸ λαθεῖν
ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀπελθόντας, καὶ μηδένα λαβεῖν
7 ἔννοιαν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς αὐτοῦ. δοξάντων δὲ τούτων
μετεπέμπετο τὸν Πολύβιον καὶ δηλώσας τὰ δε-
δογμένα παρεκάλει συνεπιλαβέσθαι τῆς ἐπιβολῆς
καὶ συνδιανοηθῆναι πῶς ἂν χειρισθείη τὰ κατὰ
8 τὸν δρασμόν. συνέβαινε δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν
τοῦτον Μένυλλον μὲν τὸν Ἀλαβανδέα παρεῖναι
πρεσβεύοντα παρὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου βασιλέως
Πτολεμαίου χάριν τοῦ συγκαταστῆναι καὶ δι-
καιολογηθῆναι πρὸς τὸν νεώτερον Πτολεμαῖον·
ἐτύγχανε δὲ προϋπάρχουσα τῷ Πολυβίῳ πρὸς τὸν
9 Μένυλλον ἰσχυρὰ συνήθεια καὶ πίστις. διὸ καὶ
νομίσας αὐτὸν ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι πρὸς τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν
χρείαν συνέστησε τῷ Δημητρίῳ μετὰ μεγάλης σπου-
10 δῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας. ὁ δὲ κοινωνήσας τῆς ἐπι-
βολῆς ἀνεδέξατο τήν τε ναῦν ἑτοιμάσαι καὶ τἆλλα
11 πρὸς τὸν πλοῦν ἀπαρτιεῖν. οὗτος μὲν οὖν εὑρὼν
ἐν τῷ στόματι τοῦ Τιβέριος ὁρμοῦσαν Καρχη-
12 δονίαν ναῦν ἱεραγωγόν, ταύτην ἐναυλώσατο· συμ-
βαίνει δὲ τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα λαμβάνεσθαι κατ᾽ ἐκλογὴν
ἐκ τῆς Καρχηδόνος, ἐφ᾽ οἷς εἰς τὴν Τύρον ἐκ-
πέμπουσιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι τὰς πατρίους ἀπαρχὰς
τοῖς θεοῖς· ἐναυλοῦτο δὲ φανερῶς εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν
13 ἀνακομιδήν. διὸ καὶ τήν τε τῶν ἐπιμηνίων
παρασκευὴν ἀνυπόπτως ἐποιεῖτο καὶ φανερῶς
ἐλάλει καὶ συνέταττε τοῖς ναυτικοῖς.

favourable for his appearing suddenly on the scene. For the Syrians would at once transfer the crown to him, even if he appeared accompanied only by a single slave, while the senate would not go so far as to help and support Lysias after his conduct. All that remained then was to escape from Rome secretly without anyone having any notion of his plan. Having come to this decision, Demetrius sent for Polybius and communicated the project to him, begging him to assist him in it and join him in planning the best means of escape. At that time it happened that there was a certain Menyllus of Alabanda present, on an embassy from the elder Ptolemy, with the object of confronting and answering the younger Ptolemy. Polybius had long been intimate with this Menyllus, and had great confidence in him. So that, thinking him to be the proper person to engage in the present service, he introduced him to Demetrius, recommending him very cordially and warmly. Menyllus consented to take part in the project, and engaged to have a ship ready and to provide all else that was required for the voyage. Finding a Carthaginian ship that had carried sacred offerings anchored at the mouth of the Tiber, he hired it. Such ships were specially selected at Carthage for the conveyance of the traditional offering of first-fruits to their gods that the Carthaginians send to Tyre. Menyllus chartered her openly to convey himself home; so that he could without any suspicion send on board a month's stock of provisions and could speak openly to the ship's officers and make arrangements with them.

13 Ἐπεὶ δὴ δὲ πάντ' ἦν ἕτοιμα τῷ ναυκλήρῳ λοιπόν
(21) ⟨τ'⟩ ἔδει τὸν Δημήτριον ἀπαρτίζειν τὰ καθ' αὑτόν,
⟨τὸν⟩ τροφέα προαπέστειλεν εἰς τὴν Συρίαν
ὠτακουστήσοντα καὶ κατοπτεύσοντα τἀκεῖ συμ-
2 βαίνοντα περὶ τοὺς ὄχλους. ὁ δὲ σύντροφος
Ἀπολλώνιος ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτῷ μετεῖχε τῆς ἐπι-
βολῆς· δυεῖν δ' ὑπαρχόντων ἀδελφῶν, Μελεάγρου
καὶ Μενεσθέως, τούτοις ἐκοινώσατο τὴν πρᾶξιν,
ἄλλῳ δ' οὐδενὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ, καίτοι πλειόνων
3 ὄντων. οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν Ἀπολλωνίου κατὰ φύσιν
υἱοί, τοῦ μεγάλην μὲν εὐκαιρίαν ἔχοντος παρὰ
Σελεύκῳ, μεταστάντος δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχου
4 μετάληψιν τῆς ἀρχῆς εἰς Μίλητον. τῆς δὲ συν-
ταχθείσης ἡμέρας πρὸς τοὺς ναυτικοὺς συνεγγι-
ζούσης, ἔδει γενέσθαι παρά τινι τῶν φίλων ὑπο-
5 δοχὴν πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον. παρὰ γὰρ αὑτῷ ποιεῖν
τὸ δεῖπνον οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν· εἴθιστο γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς
6 καλεῖν ἅπαντας τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντας. οἱ δὲ
συνειδότες τὴν πρᾶξιν ἔμελλον ἐξ οἴκου δειπνή-
σαντες ἐπὶ τὸ πλοῖον ἥξειν, ἔχοντες ἕνα παῖδα
μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος· τοὺς γὰρ λοιποὺς ἀπεστάλ-
κεισαν εἰς Ἀναγνείας, κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν αὐτοὶ
7 παρεψόμενοι. τὸν δὲ Πολύβιον συνέβαινεν κατὰ
τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἠσθενηκότα μένειν κατὰ κλίνην,
εἰδέναι δὲ πάντα τὰ πραττόμενα, τοῦ Μενύλλου
συνεχῶς αὐτῷ μεταδιδόντος αἰεὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπο-
8 πιπτόντων. διόπερ ἀγωνιάσας ὁ προειρημένος μὴ
τῆς συνηθείας ἑλκυσθείσης, ἅτε τοῦ Δημητρίου
συμποτικοῦ φυσικῶς καὶ νεωτέρου τελέως ὑπάρ-
χοντος, ἀπόρημά τι γένηται περὶ τὴν ἔξοδον διὰ
9 τὴν μέθην, γράψας βραχὺ πιττάκιον καὶ σφραγι-
σάμενος πέμπει παρ' αὐτοῦ παῖδα συσκοτάζοντος

13. When the skipper had made all his preparations and it only remained for Demetrius to make his own arrangements, he first of all sent his foster-father off to Syria, to find out by listening to conversations and by what he observed what was the state of popular feeling there. His foster-brother Apollonius had taken part in the project from the outset, and he also took the two brothers of Apollonius, Meleager, and Menestheus, into his confidence, but no other member of his suite, though it was fairly numerous. These brothers were really the sons of that Apollonius who had stood in high favour with Seleucus, but had removed to Miletus upon Antiochus succeeding to the crown. The day agreed upon with the ship's officers was now approaching, and it became necessary to arrange for a party at the house of one of his friends in order to enable Demetrius to go out; for it was impossible to dine at his own house, since he had been in the habit of scrupulously inviting all members of his suite. Those who had been initiated into the plot were to dine at home and come on board the ship, each attended by one slave, having sent their other slaves on to Anagneia, saying they would follow them on the following day. Polybius happened at the time to be ill in bed, but he knew of all that was going on, as Menyllus kept him constantly informed. So being very much afraid that if the banquet were unduly prolonged, as Demetrius was naturally fond of his cups and extremely young, he might find some difficulty in going out owing to the effects of drink, he wrote and sealed a short note, and sent off a slave of his own with it shortly after dusk

ἄρτι τοῦ θεοῦ, συντάξας ἐκκαλεσάμενον τὸν οἰνοχόον τοῦ Δημητρίου δοῦναι τὸ πιττάκιον, μηδὲν εἰπόντα τίς ἢ παρὰ τίνος, καὶ κελεύειν ἀποδιδόναι
10 τῷ Δημητρίῳ παραχρῆμα διαναγνῶναι. γενομένων δὲ πάντων κατὰ τὸ συνταχθέν, λαβὼν
11 ὁ Δημήτριος ἐπανέγνω· τὸ δὲ πιττάκιον περιεῖχε τὰς γνώμας ταύτας.

12 ὁ δρῶν τὰ τοῦ μέλλοντος οἴχεται φέρων.
ἴσον φέρει νύξ, τοῖς δὲ τολμῶσιν πλέον.
13 τόλμα τι, κινδύνευε, πρᾶττ', ἀποτύγχανε,
ἐπίτυχε, πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ σαυτὸν προοῦ.
14 νᾶφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν· ἄρθρα ταῦτα τᾶν φρενῶν.

14 Ταῦτα διαναγνοὺς ὁ Δημήτριος καὶ συννοήσας
(22) τὰς ὑποθέσεις, καὶ τίνες καὶ παρὰ τίνος εἰσίν, παραυτίκα προσποιηθεὶς ὡς ἐπιναύσιος γεγονὼς ἀπηλλάττετο, συμπροπεμπόντων αὐτὸν καὶ τῶν
2 φίλων. παραγενόμενος δ' ἐπὶ σκηνὴν τοὺς μὲν ἀνεπιτηδείους τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὰς Ἀναγνείας, συντάξας λαβόντας τὰ λίνα καὶ τοὺς
3 κύνας ἀπαντᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ Κίρκαιον· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐπιμελῶς εἰώθει κυνηγετεῖν τὸν ὗν· ἐξ οὗ καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν Πολύβιον αὐτῷ συνηθείας τὴν καταρχὴν
4 γενέσθαι συνέπεσεν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Νικάνορα διεσάφει τὴν ἐπιβολὴν καὶ κοι-
5 νωνεῖν παρεκάλει τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων. πάντων δὲ προθύμως δεξαμένων τὸν λόγον, παρήγγειλε κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐπανελθόντας ἐπὶ τὰς ἰδίας καταλύσεις τοῖς μὲν παισὶν συντάξαι προάγειν ὑπὸ τὴν ἑωθινὴν εἰς τὰς Ἀναγνείας καὶ μετὰ τῶν κυνηγῶν
6 ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὸ Κίρκαιον, αὐτοὺς δὲ λαβόντας

with orders to call out Demetrius's cup-bearer and deliver the note to him, not mentioning who he was, or from whom it was, but begging him to give it to Demetrius to read at once. All was done as had been ordered, and Demetrius took it and read it. The note contained the following saws :

> The doer is away with all the tarrier's gear.
> Night favours all alike but most the brave.[a]
> Be brave and risk it, act to lose or win,
> Anything but to give thyself away.
> Be sober and remember to distrust;
> These are the sinews of the mind.[b]

14. Demetrius, having read this and understanding the purport of the lines and from whom they came, at once left the house pretending that he felt sick, escorted by his friends. On arriving at a hut he sent off to Anagneia those of his slaves whom it did not suit him to keep, ordering them to bring the nets and dogs and meet him at Cerceii, for that was where he used constantly to go and hunt the wild boar, which was in fact the beginning of his intimacy with Polybius. In the next place he informed Nicanor and his friends of his plan, and begged them to throw in their lot with him. Upon their all readily consenting, he asked them to return at once to their residences and order their slaves to proceed in the early morning to Anagneia, and joining the huntsmen meet them at Cerceii. They themselves were to put

[a] Euripides, *Phoen.* 633.
[b] By Epicharmus. Cp. Bk. xviii. 40.

ἐσθῆτας τὰς ὁδοιπορικὰς ἀνακάμπτειν ὡς αὐτόν,
εἰπόντας τοῖς οἰκέταις ὅτι μετὰ Δημητρίου συμ-
μίξουσιν αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἐπὶ τὸν προ-
7 ειρημένον τόπον. γενομένων δὲ πάντων καθὼς
προείρηται, προῆγον εἰς τὴν Ὠστίαν νυκτὸς ἐπὶ
8 τὸ στόμα τοῦ Τιβέριος. ὁ δὲ Μένυλλος προ-
πορευόμενος ἐκοινολογεῖτο τοῖς ναυτικοῖς, φάσκων
αὑτῷ προσπεπτωκέναι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως δι' ὃ
δέον ἐστὶν αὐτὸν μὲν μένειν κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἐν τῇ
Ῥώμῃ, τῶν δὲ νεανίσκων τοὺς πιστοτάτους
ἐκπέμψαι πρὸς αὐτόν, παρ' ὧν ἐπιγνώσεται πάντα
9 τὰ κατὰ τὸν ἀδελφόν. διόπερ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ
ἔφησεν ἐμβαίνειν, τοὺς δὲ νεανίσκους ἥξειν περὶ
10 μέσας νύκτας τοὺς μέλλοντας πλεῖν. τῶν δὲ
ναυκλήρων ἀδιαφορούντων διὰ τὸ μένειν αὐτοῖς
τὸ ταχθὲν ναῦλον ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ πάντα κατηρτι-
11 κότων ἐκ πολλοῦ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πλοῦν, παρῆσαν οἱ
περὶ τὸν Δημήτριον κατὰ τρίτην φυλακὴν λήγουσαν,
ὄντες ὀκτὼ καὶ παῖδες πέντε καὶ παιδάρια τρία.
12 τοῦ δὲ Μενύλλου κοινολογηθέντος αὐτοῖς καὶ
παραδείξαντος τὴν τῶν ἐπιμηνίων παρασκευήν,
ἔτι δὲ συστήσαντος τῷ ναυκλήρῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐπι-
13 βάταις ἐκτενῶς, οὗτοι μὲν ἐπέβησαν, ὁ δὲ κυ-
βερνήτης ἄρτι διαφαύσκοντος ἄρας τὰς ἀγκύρας
ἐτέλει τὸν πλοῦν, ἁπλῶς οὐδεμίαν ἔννοιαν ἔχων
τοῦ πράγματος, ἀλλ' ὡς στρατιώτας τινὰς ἄγων
παρὰ τοῦ Μενύλλου πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον.

15 Ἐν δὲ τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν οὐδεὶς
(23) ἐπιζητήσειν ἔμελλε τὸν Δημήτριον οὐδὲ τοὺς μετ'
2 ἐκείνου προάγοντας· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ μένοντες ὡς
ἐπὶ τὸ Κίρκαιον ὡρμηκότα διελάμβανον, οἱ δ' ἐν
ταῖς Ἀναγνείαις ἀπήντων ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον,

on travelling dress and return to him, after telling their slaves that they would fetch Demetrius and join them next day at the above place. All was managed as I have stated, and they went on by night to Ostia at the mouth of Tiber. Menyllus had preceded them and communicated with the officers of the ship, saying that he had had a message from the king to the effect that he must himself remain in Rome for the present, but must send on to him in advance the most trustworthy of his young soldiers, who would give him all the news about his brother. So he said he himself would not embark, but that the soldiers who were to make the voyage would arrive about midnight. The ship's officers were not concerned at this, since the fare agreed upon had been prepaid, and they had made all their preparations for the voyage long ago. Demetrius and those with him arrived at the end of the third watch of the night, being eight in number with five grown-up slaves and three slave boys. After Menyllus had conversed with them, pointing out the provisions for the voyage, and recommending them very cordially to the skipper and his crew, they went on board and the pilot heaved anchor just as it was getting light and set sail, having no idea at all of the truth, but fancying he was conveying some soldiers from Menyllus to Ptolemy.

15. In Rome no one was likely to look next day for Demetrius or those who left with him. For those who remained on the spot supposed he had started for Cerceii, and those in Anagneia were going to meet him at the same spot, supposing he would come there.

3 ὡς ἐκεῖ παρεσόμενον. διὸ συνέβαινε τελέως
ἄσημον εἶναι τὸν δρασμόν, ἕως οὗ τῶν παίδων τις
μεμαστιγωμένος ἐν ταῖς Ἀναγνείαις ἔδραμεν ἐπὶ
τὸ Κίρκαιον, ὡς ἐκεῖ τῷ Δημητρίῳ συμμίξων·
4 οὐχ εὑρὼν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔτρεχεν, ὡς
5 κατὰ πορείαν ἀπαντήσων. οὐδαμῇ δὲ συντυχὼν
αὐτῷ τοῦτο διεσάφησεν τοῖς ἐν Ῥώμῃ φίλοις
6 καὶ τοῖς καταλελειμμένοις ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας. ἐπι-
ζητουμένου δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου κατὰ τὴν τετάρτην
ἡμέραν ἀφ' ἧς ὥρμησεν, ὑπενοήθη τὸ γεγονός.
7 τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ σύγκλητος εὐθέως συνήγετο περὶ
τούτων, ἐν ᾗ συνέβαινε τὸν Δημήτριον ἐκτὸς ἤδη
8 τοῦ πορθμοῦ τοῦ κατὰ Σικελίαν ὑπάρχειν. τὸ
μὲν οὖν διώκειν ἀπέγνωσαν, ἅμα μὲν ὑπολαμβά-
νοντες αὐτὸν πολὺ προειληφέναι κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν,
καὶ γὰρ ἔσχε φορὸν ἄνεμον, ἅμα δὲ προορώμενοι
9 τὸ βουληθέντες κωλύειν ἀδυνατῆσαι· πρεσβευτὰς
δὲ κατέστησαν μετά τινας ἡμέρας τοὺς περὶ
Τεβέριον Γράκχον καὶ Λεύκιον Λέντλον καὶ
10 Σερουίλιον Γλαυκίαν, οἵτινες ἔμελλον πρῶτον μὲν
ἐποπτεύσειν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἶτ' ἐπιβα-
λόντες ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν τά τε κατὰ τὸν Δημήτριον
καραδοκήσειν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων προ-
αιρέσεις ἐξετάσειν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Γαλάτας ἀντι-
11 λεγόμενα τοῖς προειρημένοις διευκρινήσειν. διὸ
τὸν Τεβέριον κατεστήσαντο . . . πάντων αὐτόπτην
12 γεγονέναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τού-
τοις ἦν.

13 Ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος προσανέχων τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ
διαποσταλησομένου πρὸς αὐτόν.

The consequence was that his escape was entirely unnoticed, until one of the slaves who had been scourged in Anagneia ran off to Cerceii, supposing he would meet Demetrius there, and when he failed to do so ran on again to Rome, thinking he would meet him on the road. But not finding him anywhere he informed the friends of Demetrius in Rome and the members of the household who were left behind. When four days after his departure people began to look for Demetrius, a suspicion of the truth arose, and on the fifth day, when Demetrius had already passed the Straits of Messina, a special meeting of the senate was held on the subject. Any idea of pursuit was abandoned because on the one hand they supposed that he was well advanced on his voyage, as the wind was favourable, and on the other hand they saw that they could not prevent him even if they wished. After a few days they appointed three commissioners, Tiberius Gracchus, Lucius Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucia to examine first of all into the state of Greece, and then, crossing to Asia, to await the result of Demetrius's action, and to inquire into the sentiments of the other kings, and decide the differences between the latter and the Galatians. The reason why they appointed Tiberius Gracchus was that he had personal knowledge of all these subjects. Such was the state of affairs in Italy.

(Suid.)

Demetrius was anxiously expecting the arrival of the messenger who was to be sent to him.

V. Res Asiae

16 Ὅτι Ἀρταξίας ἐβούλετο ἐπανελέσθαι . . . παρ-
(17 5) (15) αινέσεσι δὲ Ἀριαράθου τοῦτ᾽ οὐκ ἔπραξεν ἀλλ᾽
2 ἐντιμότερον εἶχεν αὐτὸν ἢ πρότερον. οὕτως ἥ τε τοῦ δικαίου φύσις ἔχει μεγάλην δύναμιν, αἵ τε τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν γνῶμαι καὶ παραινέσεις, ὥστε μὴ μόνον τοὺς φίλους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πολλάκις σῴζειν καὶ μετατιθέναι τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον.

3 Ὅτι παντὸς ἐπιστολίου τὸ κάλλος ἐστὶ συστατικώτερον.

VI. Res Africae

17 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Πτολεμαῖος ὁ νεώτερος παρα-
(26) (25) γεγονὼς εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετὰ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν
2 συνήθροιζε ξενολόγιον ἐμβριθές. ἐν οἷς προσελάβετο καὶ τὸν Μακεδόνα Δαμάσιππον, ὃς κατασφάξας ἐν τῷ Φάκῳ τοὺς συνέδρους ἔφυγεν μετὰ
3 γυναικὸς καὶ τέκνων ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας. ἀφικόμενος δ᾽ εἰς τὴν τῶν Ῥοδίων Περαίαν καὶ ξενισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προετίθετο πλεῖν εἰς τὴν
4 Κύπρον. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τορκουᾶτον θεωροῦντες αὐτὸν συνεσταμένον ξενικὴν χεῖρα βαρεῖαν ὑπεμίμνησκον τῶν ἐντολῶν, διότι δεῖ χωρὶς πολέμου
5 ποιεῖσθαι τὴν κάθοδον· καὶ τέλος ἔπεισαν αὐτὸν ἕως Σίδης προαγαγόντα τὸ ξενολόγιον διαλύσασθαι καὶ τῆς εἰς Κύπρον ἐπιβολῆς ἀποστῆναι καὶ συμμίσγειν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς τῶν Κυρηναίων ὅρους.
6 αὐτοὶ δὲ πλεύσαντες εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἔφασαν παραστήσεσθαι τὸν βασιλέα πρὸς τὰ παρακαλού-

V. Affairs of Asia

16. Artaxias wished to kill . . . but by the advice of Ariarathes instead of doing so held him in greater honour than formerly. Such is the power of justice, and of the opinion and advice of good men that thereby not only our friends but our enemies are often saved and their natures changed for the better.

Good looks are a better recommendation than any letter.

VI. Affairs of Africa

The Rival Ptolemies

17. After this the younger Ptolemy arriving in Greece with the legates, collected a powerful force of mercenaries, among whom was the Macedonian Damasippus, who, after murdering the members of the council at Phacus fled from Macedonia with his wife and family. Arriving in the Rhodian Peraea, the king was hospitably received there by the state, and proposed to sail for Cyprus. Torquatus and his colleagues, seeing that he had got together this formidable force of mercenaries, reminded him of their instructions, which were that his return to Cyprus must be effected without war, and finally persuaded him after proceeding as far as Side to dismiss the troops, and abandoning his attempt on Cyprus to meet them on the borders of Cyrene. They themselves, they said, would sail to Alexandria, and after inducing the king to submit to the senate's request,

μενα καὶ συναντήσειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρους, ἔχοντες
7 κἀκεῖνον μεθ' αὑτῶν. τούτοις μὲν οὖν τοῖς
λόγοις πεισθεὶς ὁ νεώτερος Πτολεμαῖος, ἀπογνοὺς
τὰ κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον τὸ μὲν ξενολόγιον διέλυσεν,
8 αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς Κρήτην ἀπέπλευσεν,
τόν τε Δαμάσιππον ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν
πρεσβευτῶν ἕνα Γνάιον Μερόλαν· ξενολογήσας δ'
ἐκ τῆς Κρήτης περὶ χιλίους στρατιώτας ἀνήχθη
καὶ διάρας εἰς τὴν Λιβύην κατέσχεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἆπιν.
18 οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τορκουᾶτον διακομισθέντες εἰς
(27) (26) τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπειρῶντο μὲν παρακαλεῖν τὸν
πρεσβύτερον Πτολεμαῖον διαλύεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἀδελ-
2 φὸν καὶ συγχωρεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν Κύπρον· τοῦ <δὲ>
Πτολεμαίου τὰ μὲν ἐπαγγελλομένου, τὰ δὲ παρ-
ακούοντος, καὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ κατατρίβοντος
3 τὸν χρόνον, στρατοπεδεύων ὁ νεώτερος μετὰ τῶν
Κρητῶν ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ περὶ τὸν Ἆπιν κατὰ τὸ συν-
τεταγμένον καὶ τελέως ἀσχάλλων ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν
διασαφήσασθαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐξαπέστειλε τὸν
Γνάιον εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ὡς διὰ τούτου κἂν
4 τοὺς περὶ τὸν Τορκουᾶτον ἐπιγενομένους· συνεξ-
ομοιωθέντος δὲ τούτου τοῖς πρότερον, καὶ τοῦ
χρόνου διελκομένου, καὶ τετταράκοντα διελθου-
σῶν ἡμερῶν, καὶ μηδενὸς προσπίπτοντος, εἰς
5 ἀπορίαν ἐνέπιπτε περὶ τῶν ὅλων. ὁ γὰρ πρε-
σβύτερος βασιλεὺς πᾶν γένος ἀρεσκείας προσφε-
ρόμενος πάντας ἐξιδιάσατο τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς καὶ
παρακατέσχε τὸ πλεῖον οὐχ ἑκόντας, ἀλλ' ἄκοντας.
6 κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον προσέπεσε τῷ νεωτέρῳ
Πτολεμαίῳ τούς τε Κυρηναίους ἀφεστάναι καὶ
τὰς πόλεις συμφρονεῖν τούτοις, κεκοινωνηκέναι
δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν

would come to meet him on the frontier accompanied by his brother. The younger Ptolemy, persuaded by these arguments, gave up his Cyprian project, disbanded his mercenary force, and took ship first of all for Crete accompanied by Damasippus and one of the legates, Gnaeus Merula. After collecting in Crete a force of about a thousand soldiers he set sail and crossing to Africa landed at Apis. 18. Meanwhile Torquatus and the other legates on arriving at Alexandria attempted to induce the elder Ptolemy to be reconciled to his brother and cede Cyprus to him. When the king kept on alternately promising and refusing and thus wasted time, his younger brother, who, as had been agreed, remained encamped with his Cretans near Apis in Africa, and was exceedingly put out at receiving no information, at first sent Gnaeus to Alexandria, supposing that he would bring Torquatus and the others. But when Gnaeus proved equally inactive, and time dragged on, forty days having passed without any news, he did not know what to make of the whole matter. For the elder king by every kind of complaisance won over the legates and detained them with him rather against their will than otherwise. At the same time news reached the younger Ptolemy that the Cyreneans had revolted, that the towns were in sympathy with them, and that Ptolemy Sympetesis, an Egyptian,

7 Συμπετῆσιν, ὃς ἦν τὸ γένος Αἰγύπτιος, ἐπιστεύθη δὲ
τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν ὅλων ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, καθ'
ὃν καιρὸν ἐποιεῖτο τὸν πλοῦν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην.
8 τούτων δὲ προσπιπτόντων τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ μετ'
ὀλίγον διότι στρατοπεδεύουσιν ἐν τοῖς ὑπαίθροις
οἱ Κυρηναῖοι, δείσας μὴ βουλόμενος προσλαβεῖν
τὴν Κύπρον καὶ τὴν Κυρήνην ἀπολέσῃ, πάντα
τἄλλα πάρεργα θέμενος ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ Κυρήνης.
9 παραγενόμενος δ' εἰς τὸν μέγαν καλούμενον
Καταβαθμὸν κατέλαβε τοὺς Λίβυας μετὰ τῶν
10 Κυρηναίων κατέχοντας τὰς δυσχωρίας. ὁ δὲ Πτο-
λεμαῖος ἀπορούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ συμβαίνοντι τοὺς
μὲν ἡμίσεις τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐμβιβάσας εἰς
τὰ πλοῖα περιπλεῖν τὰς δυσχωρίας ἐπέταξε καὶ
κατὰ νώτου τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπιφαίνεσθαι, τοὺς δ'
ἡμίσεις ἔχων αὐτὸς ἐβιάζετο κατὰ στόμα πρὸς
11 τὴν ἀνάβασιν. τῶν δὲ Λιβύων καταπλαγέντων
τὴν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν ἔφοδον καὶ λειπόντων τοὺς τόπους,
ἅμα τῆς ἀναβάσεως ἐγένετο κύριος καὶ τῆς ὑπο-
κειμένης Τετραπυργίας, ἐν ᾗ συνέβαινε πλῆθος
12 ἄφθονον ὕδατος ὑπάρχειν. ὅθεν ἀφορμήσας ἑβδο-
13 μαῖος ἧκε διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου. παραπλεόντων δ' αὐτῷ
καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Μοχυρίνου, συνέβαινε τοὺς Κυρηναίους
στρατοπεδεύειν <πεζοὺς μὲν> ὄντας εἰς ὀκτα-
14 κισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ περὶ πεντακοσίους. οἱ
γὰρ Κυρηναῖοι πεῖραν εἰληφότες τῆς τοῦ Πτολε-
μαίου προαιρέσεως ἐκ τῶν <κατὰ> τὴν Ἀλεξ-
άνδρειαν πεπραγμένων καὶ θεωροῦντες οὐ βασι-
λικήν, ἀλλὰ τυραννικὴν οὖσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦ
15 καὶ τὴν ὅλην αἵρεσιν, οὐχ οἷοί τ' ἦσαν ἐθελοντὴν
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑποτάττειν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὑπομένειν
ἐτόλμων, ἀντεχόμενοι τῆς πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν

whom he had placed in charge of the country when he left for Rome, had taken the part of the insurgents. When he received this news, and when soon afterwards he heard that the Cyreneans had taken the field, fearing lest by trying to add Cyprus to his dominions he should lose Cyrene also, he treated all other matters as of lesser moment and at once marched on Cyrene. Upon reaching the place known as the Great Slope he found the Libyans and Cyreneans occupying the pass. Ptolemy, taken aback by this, embarked half of his force on the ships with orders to sail round the pass and take the enemy in the rear, while he himself with the other half advanced directly to force the ascent. Upon the Libyans taking fright at this double attack and abandoning their position, he made himself master of the ascent and the place called the Four Towers beneath it, where there was plenty of water. Setting out thence he arrived after six days' march through the desert. The force under Mochyrinus coasted along parallel to him until they found the Cyreneans encamped eight thousand strong in foot and five hundred in cavalry. For the Cyreneans had gained experience of Ptolemy's character from his behaviour at Alexandria, and, seeing that his government and his whole disposition were those of a tyrant rather than a king, they were by no means disposed to submit willingly to his rule, but were resolved to suffer anything for the prospect

16 ἐλπίδος. διὸ καὶ τότε συνεγγίσαντος αὐτοῦ ἐξ
αὐτῆς παρετάξαντο· καὶ τέλος ἡττήθη.

19 Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἦλθε καὶ Γνάιος
(28)(27) ὁ Μερόλας ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, διασαφῶν τῷ
βασιλεῖ διότι πρὸς οὐθὲν τῶν ἀξιουμένων προσ-
ελήλυθεν ὁ ἀδελφός, ἀλλά φησι δεῖν μένειν ἐπὶ
2 τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς διομολογουμένοις. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς
ταῦτα διακούσας, εὐθέως προχειρισάμενος Κομανὸν
καὶ Πτολεμαῖον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐξαπέστελλε πρε-
σβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τοῦ Γναΐου, δια-
σαφήσοντας τῇ συγκλήτῳ περὶ τῆς τἀδελφοῦ πλεον-
3 εξίας καὶ καταφρονήσεως. ἀπέλυσε δὲ κατὰ τὸν
αὐτὸν καιρὸν καὶ τοὺς περὶ Τίτον ἀπράκτους
4 ὁ πρεσβύτερος Πτολεμαῖος. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ
τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ Κυρήνην ἐπὶ τούτων ἦν.

VII. Res Italiae

20 Ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιροὺς ἧκον
(xxxii. 1) παρὰ τοῦ νεωτέρου Πτολεμαίου πρέσβεις οἱ περὶ
τὸν Κομανὸν καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου παρα-
πλησίως οἱ περὶ τὸν Μένυλλον τὸν Ἀλαβανδέα.
ὧν εἰσελθόντων εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον καὶ πολλῶν
2 λόγων γινομένων καὶ φιλαπεχθῶν κατὰ πρόσωπον
εἰς ἀλλήλους, καὶ τῶν περὶ Τίτον καὶ Γνάιον
ἀπομαρτυρούντων καὶ συνεπισχυόντων τῷ νεω-
3 τέρῳ μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς, ἔδοξε τῇ συγκλήτῳ
τοὺς περὶ Μένυλλον ἐν πένθ' ἡμέραις ἀποτρέχειν
ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης, καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν <ἀν>αιρεῖν
τὴν πρὸς τὸν πρεσβύτερον, πρὸς δὲ τὸν νεώτερον
πέμψαι πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς διασαφήσοντας τὰ δε-
4 δογμένα τῇ συγκλήτῳ. καὶ κατεστάθησαν Πόπλιος

of liberty. They, therefore, on his approach, at once offered battle and in the end he was worsted.

19. At this time Gnaeus Merula also came from Alexandria and informed Ptolemy that his brother had not met any of the demands, but maintained that their original agreement must be adhered to. The king, on learning this, at once appointed the brothers Comanus and Ptolemy his envoys, and dispatched them to Rome together with Gnaeus to inform the senate of his brother's selfish greed and contempt for their orders. At the same time the elder Ptolemy dismissed Torquatus without his having achieved anything. Such was the state of affairs at Alexandria and in Cyrene.

VII. Affairs of Italy

Embassies from the Ptolemies

20. At the time I am dealing with, Comanus and 162-161 B.C.
his brother arrived on an embassy from the younger Ptolemy and Menyllus of Alabanda from the elder one. They all entered the house together, where they had a long and acrimonious dispute with each other; but when both Torquatus and Merula confirmed the statements of the younger brother and warmly supported him, the senate decreed that Menyllus must leave Rome in five days, that their alliance with the elder Ptolemy was at an end, and that legates should be sent to the younger brother to inform him of their decision. Publius

Ἀπούστιος καὶ Γάιος Λέντλος, οἳ καὶ πλεύσαντες
ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν Κυρήνην ἀνήγγειλαν τῷ Πτολε-
5 μαίῳ τὰ δεδογμένα μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς. ὁ δὲ
Πτολεμαῖος ἐπαρθεὶς εὐθέως ἐξενολόγει καὶ ταῖς
6 ἐπιβολαῖς ὅλος καὶ πᾶς ἦν περὶ τὴν Κύπρον. καὶ
τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

VIII. Res Africae

21 Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην Μασαννάσας θεωρῶν
(32 2) τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πόλεων τῶν περὶ τὴν μικρὰν
Σύρτιν ἐκτισμένων καὶ τὸ κάλλος τῆς χώρας,
ἣν καλοῦσιν Ἐμπόρια, καὶ πάλαι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
προσόδων τῶν γινομένων ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις
2 ὀφθαλμιῶν, ἐπεβάλετο καταπειράζειν τῶν Καρ-
χηδονίων οὐ πολλοῖς ἀνώτερον χρόνοις τῶν
3 νῦν λεγομένων καιρῶν. τῆς μὲν οὖν χώρας
ταχέως ἐγενήθη κύριος, ἅτε τῶν ὑπαίθρων κρατῶν
διὰ τὸ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους αἰεὶ μὲν ἀλλοτρίους
ὑπάρχειν τῆς ἐν τῇ γῇ χρείας, τότε δὲ καὶ τελέως
4 ἐκτεθηλύνθαι διὰ τὴν πολυχρόνιον εἰρήνην· τῶν
δὲ πόλεων οὐκ ἠδυνήθη γενέσθαι κύριος διὰ τὸ
5 τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐπιμελῶς τηρεῖν αὐτάς. ἀμφο-
τέρων δὲ ποιουμένων τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τὴν σύγ-
κλητον ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων, καὶ πρε-
σβευτῶν πολλάκις ἐληλυθότων διὰ ταῦτα παρ'
6 ἑκατέρων, αἰεὶ συνέβαινε τοὺς Καρχηδονίους ἐλατ-
τοῦσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, οὐ τοῖς δικαίοις,
ἀλλὰ τῷ πεπεῖσθαι τοὺς κρίνοντας συμφέρειν
7 σφίσι τὴν τοιαύτην γνώμην, ἐπείτοι χρόνοις οὐ
πολλοῖς ἀνώτερον αὐτὸς ὁ Μασαννάσας διώκων
τὸν Ἀφθῆρα τὸν ἀποστάτην μετὰ στρατοπέδου

Apustius and Caius Lentulus were appointed and at once took ship for Cyrene where they announced this important decision to Ptolemy. The king, much elated by it, at once began to collect troops and was entirely occupied with his projected attempt on Cyprus. Such was the state of affairs in Italy.

VIII. Affairs of Africa

Massanissa and Carthage

21. In Africa Massanissa, seeing the numbers of the cities founded on the coast of the Lesser Syrtis and the fertility of the country which they call Emporia, and casting envious eyes on the abundant revenue derived from this district, had tried, not many years before the time I am dealing with, to wrest it from Carthage. He easily made himself master of the open country as he could command it, owing to the Carthaginians, who had always been poor soldiers, having latterly become completely enervated in consequence of the long peace. He could not, however, get hold of the towns as they were carefully guarded by the Carthaginians. Both parties appealed to the senate about their differences, and numerous embassies had come from both on the subject, but the Carthaginians always came off second best at Rome, not because they had not right on their side, but because the judges were convinced that it was in their own interest to decide against them. Their claim to the country was evidently just; for Massanissa himself not many years previously, while pursuing with an army Aphther

δίοδον ᾐτήσατο τοὺς Καρχηδονίους διὰ ταύτης τῆς χώρας [οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν],[1] ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ
8 προσηκούσης. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τέλος εἰς τοῦτο συνεκλείσθησαν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι διὰ τῶν ἀποφάσεων κατὰ τοὺς νῦν λεγομένους καιροὺς ὥστε μὴ μόνον τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀποβαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντα προσθεῖναι τῆς καρπείας τῶν χρόνων, ἐξ οὗ συνέβη γενέσθαι τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν.

IX. Res Italiae

22 Ὅτι τὸ μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον σημεῖον τῆς
(xxxii. 8) Λευκίου Αἰμιλίου προαιρέσεως μεταλλάξαντος τὸν
2 βίον ἐγένετο πᾶσιν ἔκδηλον· οἷος γὰρ ὁ τρόπος ζῶντος [αὐτοῦ] ἐδοξάζετο, τοιοῦτος εὑρέθη τὸν βίον μεταλλάξαντος, ὃ μέγιστον εἴποι τις ἂν
3 ὑπάρχειν τεκμήριον ἀρετῆς. ὁ γὰρ πλεῖστον μὲν τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν ἐξ Ἰβηρίας χρυσὸν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην μετενηνοχώς, μεγίστων δὲ θησαυρῶν κύριος γενόμενος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, πλείστης δὲ περὶ τὰ προειρημένα τετευχὼς ἐξουσίας τοσοῦτον ἀπ-
4 έλειπε τὸν ἴδιον βίον ὥστε . . . μὴ δύνασθαι τὴν φερνὴν τῇ γυναικὶ διαλῦσαι πᾶσαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπίπλων, εἰ μὴ τῶν ἐγγείων τινὰς προσαπέδοντο κτήσεων. ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡμεῖς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων
5 εἰρήκαμεν. ἐξ ὧν εἴποι τις ἂν καταλελύσθαι τὴν δόξαν τῶν θαυμαζομένων παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι
6 περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἀνδρῶν· εἰ γὰρ τὸ διδομένων χρημάτων ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ διδόντος συμφέροντι, τούτων ἀπέχεσθαι θαυμαστόν ἐστιν, ὃ λέγεται γεγονέναι περί τε τὸν Ἀθηναῖον Ἀριστείδην καὶ περὶ τὸν

[1] I exclude *οἱ δ' οὐχ ὑπήκουσαν*.

who had rebelled against him, had begged permission from them to pass through this district, thus acknowledging that he had no claim to it. But nevertheless at the end the Carthaginians were in such straits owing to the decisions of the senate at the time I am speaking of, that they not only lost the country and the towns in it, but had to pay in addition five hundred talents for the mesne revenue of it since the dispute originated.

IX. Affairs of Italy

Aemilius Paullus and Scipio

22. The most striking and splendid proof of the integrity of Lucius Aemilius became manifest to all after his death; for the same high reputation which he had possessed during his life continued when he had departed from it; and this we may say is the best proof there can be of virtue. The man, I say, who had brought to Rome from Spain more gold than any of his contemporaries, who had had at his disposal the vast treasure of Macedonia, and had been at perfect liberty to use all this money as he chose, died so poor that his sons could not pay his wife the whole of her jointure out of the personalty, and without selling some of the real property. Of this I have spoken in detail above. We may say that the reputation of those most admired in this respect by the ancient Greeks has been put into shadow. For if it is an admirable thing to refuse to touch money offered in the interest of the giver, as Aristeides 161–160 B.C.

7 Θηβαῖον Ἐπαμινώνδαν, τὸ κύριον γενόμενον αὐτὸν
ἁπάσης τῆς βασιλείας καὶ λαβόντα τὴν ἐξουσίαν
ὡς βούλεται χρήσασθαι, μηδενὸς ἐπιθυμῆσαι πόσῳ
8 θαυμαστότερόν ἐστιν; εἰ δ᾽ ἀπίστῳ τὸ λεγόμενον
ἐοικέναι δόξει τισίν, ἐκεῖνο δεῖ λαμβάνειν ἐν νῷ,
διότι σαφῶς ὁ γράφων ᾔδει μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους
ἀναληψομένους εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τὰ βυβλία ταῦτα
διὰ τὸ τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας καὶ τὰς πλείστας αὐτῶν
9 πράξεις ἐν τούτοις περιέχεσθαι· παρ᾽ οἷς οὔτ᾽
ἀγνοεῖσθαι ταῦτα δυνατὸν οὔτε συγγνώμης τεύξε-
10 σθαι τὸν ψευδολόγον εἰκός, διόπερ οὐδεὶς ἂν ἑκὼν
εἰς πρόδηλον ἀπιστίαν καὶ καταφρόνησιν ἔδωκεν
11 αὑτόν. καὶ τοῦτο μνημονευέσθω παρ᾽ ὅλην τὴν
πραγματείαν ἡμῖν, ὅταν τι παράδοξον δοκῶμεν
λέγειν περὶ Ῥωμαίων.

23 Τῆς δὲ κατὰ τὴν διήγησιν ἐφόδου καὶ τῶν
(xxxii. 9) καιρῶν ἐφεστακότων ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ταύτην,
βούλομαι τὸ κατὰ τὴν προτέραν βύβλον ἐν ἐπ-
αγγελίᾳ καταλειφθὲν συνεκπληρῶσαι τῶν φιληκόων
2 ἕνεκα. προϋπεσχόμην γὰρ διηγήσασθαι διὰ τί καὶ
πῶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτο προέκοψε καὶ θᾶττον ἢ καθῆκεν
ἐξέλαμψεν ἡ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ δόξα,
3 σὺν δὲ τούτῳ πῶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐξηθῆναι συνέβη
τῷ Πολυβίῳ τὴν πρὸς τὸν προειρημένον φιλίαν
καὶ συνήθειαν ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἕως τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ
τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπιδιατεῖναι τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν φήμην,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πορρωτέρω γνώριμον γενέσθαι τὴν
4 αἵρεσιν καὶ συμπεριφορὰν αὐτῶν. διότι μὲν οὖν
ἡ καταρχὴ τῆς συστάσεως ἐγενήθη τοῖς προειρη-
μένοις ἔκ τινος χρήσεως βυβλίων καὶ τῆς περὶ
5 τούτων λαλιᾶς δεδηλώκαμεν· προβαινούσης δὲ
τῆς συνηθείας καὶ τῶν ἀνακεκλημένων ἐκπεμπο-

of Athens and Epaminondas of Thebes are said to have done, how much more admirable is it for one who had a whole kingdom at his sole disposal, and had liberty to do what he wished with it, to covet none of it? If this appears incredible to anyone, I beg him to consider that the present writer is perfectly aware that this work will be perused by Romans above all people, containing as it does an account of their most splendid achievements, and that it is impossible either that they should be ignorant of the facts or disposed to pardon any departure from truth. So that no one would willingly expose himself thus to certain disbelief and contempt. And this should be borne in mind through this whole work, whenever I seem to make any startling statements about Romans.

23. Now that the progress of my narrative and the date call our special attention to this family, I wish in order to satisfy the reader's curiosity to execute a promise I made in the previous book and left unfulfilled, and this was that I would tell how and why the fame of Scipio in Rome advanced so far and became so brilliant more quickly than it should, and to tell also how his friendship and intimacy with the author grew so great that this report about them not only spread to Italy and Greece, but that even further afield their liking and intercourse were a matter of common knowledge. Now I have already explained that their acquaintance took its origin in the loan of some books and conversation about them. But as their intimacy grew, and when the Achaeans in

μένων ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις, διέσπευσαν ὅ τε Φάβιος καὶ
ὁ Σκιπίων οἱ τοῦ Λευκίου νεανίσκοι πρὸς τὸν
στρατηγὸν μεῖναι τὸν Πολύβιον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ.
6 γενομένου δὲ τούτου, καὶ τῆς συμπεριφορᾶς ἐπὶ
πολὺ προκοπτούσης, ἐγένετο συγκύρημά τι τοιοῦ-
7 τον. ἐκπορευομένων γάρ ποτε κατ᾽ αὐτὸ πάντων
ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς τοῦ Φαβίου, συνέβη τὸν μὲν
Φάβιον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀπονεῦσαι, τὸν δὲ Πολύ-
8 βιον ἐπὶ θάτερα μετὰ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος. προαγόν-
των δ᾽ αὐτῶν ὁ Πόπλιος ἡσυχῇ καὶ πρᾴως τῇ
φωνῇ φθεγξάμενος καὶ τῷ χρώματι γενόμενος
9 ἐνερευθής, "τί δαί" φησίν "ὦ Πολύβιε, δύο
τρώγομεν ἀδελφοί,[1] καὶ διαλέγει συνεχῶς καὶ
πάσας τὰς ἐρωτήσεις καὶ τὰς ἀποφάσεις ποιεῖ
10 πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ἐμὲ δὲ παραπέμπεις; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι
καὶ σὺ περὶ ἐμοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχεις διάληψιν, ἣν καὶ
11 τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας ἔχειν πυνθάνομαι; δοκῶ γὰρ
εἶναι πᾶσιν ἡσύχιός τις καὶ νωθρός, ὡς ἀκούω,
καὶ πολὺ κεχωρισμένος τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς αἱρέσεως
12 καὶ πράξεως, ὅτι κρίσεις οὐχ αἱροῦμαι λέγειν.
τὴν δ᾽ οἰκίαν οὔ φασι τοιοῦτον ζητεῖν προστάτην
ἐξ ἧς ὁρμῶμαι, τὸ δ᾽ ἐναντίον· ὃ καὶ μάλιστά με
λυπεῖ."

24 Ὁ δὲ Πολύβιος ξενισθεὶς τῇ τοῦ μειρακίου
(xxxii. 10) καταρχῇ τῶν λόγων· οὐ γὰρ εἶχε πλέον ἐτῶν
2 ὀκτωκαίδεκα τότε· "μὴ πρὸς θεῶν, Σκιπίων,"
ἔφη, "μηδὲ λέγε ταῦτα μηδ᾽ ἐν νῷ λάμβανε ταῦτα
3 τὸ παράπαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ καταγινώσκων οὔτε παρα-
πέμπων ἐγώ σε ποιῶ τοῦτο, πολλοῦ γε δεῖν, ἀλλὰ
τῷ πρεσβύτερον εἶναι τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔν τε ταῖς
ὁμιλίαις ἄρχομαί <τ᾽> ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου καὶ λήγω πάλιν

[1] I suggest δύο γάρ ἐσμεν, τῷ μὲν ἀδελφῷ.

detention were sent off to provincial towns, Fabius [a] and Scipio, the sons of Lucius Aemilius, urgently begged the praetor to allow Polybius to remain in Rome. This was done, and their intercourse now becoming much closer, the following incident took place. On one occasion when they were all coming out together from the house of Fabius, the latter happened to take a turning leading to the forum, while Polybius and Scipio turned off in the opposite direction. As they advanced Scipio, addressing Polybius in a quiet and gentle voice, and blushing slightly said: "Why, Polybius, since there are two of us, do you constantly converse with my brother and address to him all your questions and explanations, but ignore me? Evidently you also have the same opinions of me that I hear the rest of my countrymen have. For, as I am told, I am believed by everybody to be a quiet and indolent man, with none of the energetic character of a Roman, because I don't choose to speak in the law courts. And they say that the family I spring from does not require such a protector as I am, but just the opposite; and this is what I feel most."

24. Polybius was surprised at the way in which the young man opened the conversation; for he was then not more than eighteen years old. "For goodness' sake, Scipio," he said, "don't talk in that way, or get any such notion into your head. I don't, I assure you, do this because I have a low opinion of you or ignore you, but because your brother is your senior. I both begin conversation with him and finish

[a] The brother of Scipio who was adopted by Quintus Fabius Maximus Cunctator.

εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἔν <τε> ταῖς ἀποφάσεσι καὶ συμβου-
λίαις πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀπερείδομαι, δοκῶν καὶ σὲ τῆς
4 αὐτῆς μετέχειν γνώμης ἐκείνῳ. σοῦ γε μὴν
ἄγαμαι νῦν ἀκούων, ὅτι δοκεῖ σοι <λυπηρὸν> τὸ
πραΰτερον εἶναι τοῦ καθήκοντος τοῖς ἐκ ταύτης
τῆς οἰκίας ὁρμωμένοις· δῆλος γὰρ εἶ διὰ τούτων
5 μέγα φρονῶν. ἐγὼ δὲ κἂν αὐτὸς ἡδέως σοι
συνεπιδοίην ἐμαυτὸν καὶ συνεργὸς γενοίμην εἰς
τὸ καὶ λέγειν τι καὶ πράττειν ἄξιον τῶν προγόνων.
6 περὶ μὲν γὰρ τὰ μαθήματα, περὶ ἃ νῦν ὁρῶ σπου-
δάζοντας ὑμᾶς καὶ φιλοτιμουμένους, οὐκ ἀπορή-
σετε τῶν συνεργησόντων ὑμῖν ἑτοίμως, καὶ σοὶ
7 κἀκείνῳ· πολὺ γὰρ δή τι φῦλον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
ἐπιρρέον ὁρῶ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν τῶν τοιούτων ἀν-
8 θρώπων. εἰς δὲ τὰ λυποῦντά σε νῦν καθὼς φής,
δοκῶ μηδένα συναγωνιστὴν καὶ συνεργὸν ἄλλον
9 εὑρεῖν ἂν ἡμῶν ἐπιτηδειότερον." ἔτι δὲ ταῦτα
λέγοντος τοῦ Πολυβίου, λαβόμενος ἀμφοτέραις
χερσὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ καὶ πιέσας ἐμπαθῶς "εἰ
γὰρ ἐγὼ ταύτην," φησίν, "ἴδοιμι τὴν ἡμέραν,
ἐν ᾗ σὺ πάντα τἄλλα δεύτερα θέμενος ἐμοὶ προσ-
10 έξεις τὸν νοῦν καὶ μετ' ἐμοῦ συμβιώσεις· δόξω
γὰρ αὐτόθεν εὐθέως ἐμαυτῷ καὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἄξιος
11 εἶναι καὶ τῶν προγόνων." ὁ δὲ Πολύβιος τὰ
μὲν ἔχαιρε, θεωρῶν τὴν ὁρμὴν καὶ τὴν ἀποδοχὴν
τοῦ μειρακίου, τὰ δὲ διηπορεῖτο, λαμβάνων ἐν
νῷ τὴν ὑπεροχὴν τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν τῶν
12 ἀνδρῶν. πλὴν ἀπό γε ταύτης τῆς ἀνθομολο-
γήσεως οὐκέτι τὸ μειράκιον ἐχωρίσθη τοῦ Πολυ-
βίου, πάντα δ' ἦν αὐτῷ δεύτερα τῆς ἐκείνου
25 συμπεριφορᾶς. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν καιρῶν
(xxxii. 11) λοιπὸν ἤδη κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν

with him, and as for any explanations and advice, I address myself especially to him in the belief that your opinions are the same as his. However, now I admire you when you say that you are pained to think that you are of a milder character than becomes members of this family; for that shows that you have a high spirit. I myself would be delighted to do all in my power to help you to speak and act in a way worthy of your ancestors. For as for those studies which I see now occupy and interest you, you will be in no want of those ready to help both of you; so great is the crowd of such men that I see flocking here from Greece at present. But as regards what you say now troubles you I don't think you could find anyone more efficient than myself to forward your effort and help you." Before Polybius ceased speaking, Scipio, grasping his right hand in both his own and pressing it warmly, said: "Would I could see the day on which you, regarding nothing else as of higher importance, would devote your attention to me and join your life with mine; for then I shall at once feel myself to be worthy of my house and my forefathers." Polybius was on the one hand very happy to see the enthusiasm and affection of the young man, yet was embarrassed when he reflected on the high position of the family and the wealth of its members. However, after this mutual explanation the young man never left his side, and preferred his society to anything else. 25. From that time onwards continuing in the actual conduct

πραγμάτων πεῖραν αὐτῶν διδόντες ἀλλήλοις εἰς
πατρικὴν καὶ συγγενικὴν ἦλθον αἵρεσιν καὶ
φιλοστοργίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους.
2 Πρώτη δὲ τις ἐνέπεσεν ὁρμὴ καὶ ζῆλος τῶν
καλῶν τὸ τὴν ἐπὶ σωφροσύνῃ δόξαν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ
παραδραμεῖν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τοὺς κατὰ τὴν
3 αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν ὑπάρχοντας. ὢν δὲ μέγας οὗτος
καὶ δυσέφικτος ὁ στέφανος εὐθήρατος ἦν κατ᾽
ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ
4 χεῖρον ὁρμὴν τῶν πλείστων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς
ἐρωμένους τῶν νέων, οἱ δ᾽ εἰς ἑταίρας ἐξεκέχυντο,
πολλοὶ δ᾽ εἰς ἀκροάματα καὶ πότους καὶ τὴν ἐν
τούτοις πολυτέλειαν, ταχέως ἡρπακότες ἐν τῷ
Περσικῷ πολέμῳ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τοῦτο τὸ
5 μέρος εὐχέρειαν. καὶ τηλικαύτη τις ἐνεπεπτώ-
(xxxi. 24 3) κει περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἔργων ἀκρασία τοῖς
νέοις ὥστε πολλοὺς μὲν ἐρώμενον ἠγορακέναι
ταλάντου, πολλοὺς δὲ ταρίχου Ποντικοῦ κεράμιον
5a τριακοσίων δραχμῶν. ἐφ᾽ οἷς καὶ Μάρκος <ἀγα-
(xxxi. 24 4) νακτῶν> εἶπέ ποτε πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι μάλιστ᾽ ἂν
κατίδοιεν τὴν ἐπὶ <τὸ> χεῖρον προκοπὴν τῆς πο-
λιτείας ἐκ τούτων, ὅταν πωλούμενοι πλεῖον εὑρί-
σκωσιν οἱ μὲν εὐπρεπεῖς παῖδες τῶν ἀγρῶν, τὰ
6 δὲ κεράμια τοῦ ταρίχου τῶν ζευγηλατῶν. συν-
(xxxii. 11 6) έβη δὲ τὴν παροῦσαν αἵρεσιν οἷον ἐκλάμψαι κατὰ
τοὺς νῦν λεγομένους καιροὺς πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸ
καταλυθείσης τῆς ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλείας δοκεῖν
ἀδήριτον αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν τὴν περὶ τῶν ὅλων
7 ἐξουσίαν, ἔπειτα διὰ τὸ πολλὴν ἐπίφασιν γενέσθαι
τῆς εὐδαιμονίας περί τε τοὺς κατ᾽ ἰδίαν βίους καὶ
περὶ τὰ κοινά, τῶν ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετακομι-
8 σθέντων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην χορηγίων. πλὴν ὅ γε

of life to give proof to each other of their worth, they came to regard each other with an affection like that of father and son or near relations.

The first direction taken by Scipio's ambition to lead a virtuous life, was to attain a reputation for temperance and excel in this respect all the other young men of the same age. This is a high prize indeed and difficult to gain, but it was at this time easy to pursue at Rome owing to the vicious tendencies of most of the youths. For some of them had abandoned themselves to amours with boys and others to the society of courtesans, and many to musical entertainments and banquets, and the extravagance they involve, having in the course of the war with Perseus been speedily infected by the Greek laxity in these respects. So great in fact was the incontinence that had broken out among the young men in such matters, that many paid a talent for a male favourite and many three hundred drachmas for a jar of caviar. This aroused the indignation of Cato, who said once in a public speech that it was the surest sign of deterioration in the republic when pretty boys fetch more than fields, and jars of caviar more than ploughmen. It was just at the period we are treating of that this present tendency to extravagance declared itself, first of all because they thought that now after the fall of the Macedonian kingdom their universal dominion was undisputed, and next because after the riches of Macedonia had been transported to Rome there was a great display of wealth both in public and in private. Scipio,

Σκιπίων ὁρμήσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ἀγωγὴν τοῦ
βίου καὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἀντιταξάμενος
καὶ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ὁμολογούμενον καὶ σύμ-
φωνον ἑαυτὸν κατασκευάσας κατὰ τὸν βίον ἐν
ἴσως πέντε τοῖς πρώτοις ἔτεσι πάνδημον ἐποιή-
σατο τὴν ἐπ' εὐταξίᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ δόξαν.
9 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ τὸ συνεχὲς ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸ
περὶ τὰ χρήματα μεγαλοψυχίᾳ καὶ καθαρότητι
10 διενεγκεῖν τῶν ἄλλων. πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος
καλὴν μὲν ὑποδοχὴν εἶχε τὴν μετὰ τοῦ κατὰ
φύσιν πατρὸς συμβίωσιν, καλὰς δ' ἐκ φύσεως
ὁρμὰς αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ δέον· πολλὰ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ
ταὐτόματον συνήργησε πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ταύτην.
26 Πρώτη μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον ἡ
(xxxii. 12) τοῦ κατὰ θέσιν πατρὸς μήτηρ, ἥτις ἦν ἀδελφὴ
μὲν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Λευκίου, γυνὴ
δὲ τοῦ κατὰ θέσιν πάππου Σκιπίωνος τοῦ μεγάλου
2 προσαγορευθέντος. ταύτης ἀπολιπούσης οὐσίαν
μεγάλην κληρονόμος ὢν πρῶτον ἐν τούτοις ἔμελλε
3 πεῖραν δώσειν τῆς ἑαυτοῦ προαιρέσεως. συν-
έβαινε δὲ τὴν Αἰμιλίαν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῇ
προειρημένῃ γυναικί, μεγαλομερῆ τὴν περίστασιν
ἔχειν ἐν ταῖς γυναικείαις ἐξόδοις, ἅτε συνηκμα-
4 κυῖαν τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ τῇ Σκιπίωνος· χωρὶς
γὰρ τοῦ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ἀπήνην κόσμου
καὶ τὰ κανᾶ καὶ τὰ ποτήρια καὶ τἄλλα τὰ πρὸς
τὴν θυσίαν, ποτὲ μὲν ἀργυρᾶ, ποτὲ δὲ χρυσᾶ,
πάντα συνεξηκολούθει κατὰ τὰς ἐπιφανεῖς ἐξόδους
5 αὐτῇ, τό τε τῶν παιδισκῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν
τῶν παρεπομένων πλῆθος ἀκόλουθον ἦν τούτοις.
6 ταύτην δὴ τὴν περικοπὴν ἅπασαν εὐθέως μετὰ
τὸν τῆς Αἰμιλίας τάφον ἐδωρήσατο τῇ μητρί, . . .

however, setting himself to pursue the opposite course of conduct, combating all his appetites and moulding his life to be in every way coherent and uniform, in about the first five years established his universal reputation for strictness and temperance.

In the next place he sedulously studied to distinguish himself from others in magnanimity and cleanhandedness in money matters. In this respect the part of his life he spent with his real father [a] was an excellent grounding for him, and he had good natural impulses towards the right; but chance too helped him much in carrying out this resolve.

26. The first occasion was the death of the mother of his adoptive father.[b] She was the sister of his own father, Lucius Aemilius, and wife of his grandfather by adoption, the great Scipio. He inherited from her a large fortune and in his treatment of it was to give the first proof of his high principle. This lady whose name was Aemilia, used to display great magnificence whenever she left her house to take part in the ceremonies that women attend, having participated in the fortune of Scipio when he was at the height of his prosperity. For apart from the richness of her own dress and of the decorations of her carriage, all the baskets, cups, and other utensils for the sacrifice were either of gold or silver, and were borne in her train on all such solemn occasions, while the number of maids and men-servants in attendance was correspondingly large. Immediately after Aemilia's funeral all these splendid appointments were given

[a] Lucius Aemilius Paulus.

[b] Aemilia, wife of the great Scipio and mother of Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, who adopted his cousin the son of L. Aemilius Paulus.

ᾗ συνέβαινε κεχωρίσθαι μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ Λευκίου πρότερον ἤδη χρόνοις πολλοῖς, τὴν δὲ τοῦ βίου χορηγίαν ἐλλιπεστέραν ἔχειν τῆς κατὰ τὴν εὐ-
7 γένειαν φαντασίας. διὸ τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον ἀνακεχωρηκυίας αὐτῆς ἐκ τῶν ἐπισήμων ἐξόδων, τότε κατὰ τύχην οὔσης ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ πανδήμου θυσίας, ἐκπορευομένης αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ τῆς Αἰμιλίας περικοπῇ καὶ χορηγίᾳ, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τῶν ὀρεοκόμων καὶ τοῦ ζεύγους καὶ τῆς ἀπήνης τῆς αὐτῆς
8 ὑπαρχούσης, συνέβη τὰς γυναῖκας θεωμένας τὸ γεγονὸς ἐκπλήττεσθαι τὴν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος χρηστότητα καὶ μεγαλοψυχίαν καὶ πάσας προτεινούσας τὰς χεῖρας εὔχεσθαι τῷ προειρημένῳ πολλὰ κἀ-
9 γαθά. τοῦτο δὲ πανταχῇ μὲν ἂν εἰκότως φαίνοιτο καλόν, ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ καὶ θαυμαστόν· ἁπλῶς γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδενὶ δίδωσι τῶν ἰδίων ὑπαρχόντων
10 ἑκὼν οὐδέν. πρώτη μὲν οὖν αὕτη καταρχὴ τῆς ἐπὶ καλοκἀγαθίᾳ φήμης αὐτῷ συνεκύρησε καὶ μεγάλην ἐποίησε προκοπήν, ἅτε τοῦ τῶν γυναικῶν γένους καὶ λάλου καὶ κατακοροῦς ὄντος, ἐφ᾽ ὅ τι ἂν ὁρμήσῃ.

27 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ταῖς Σκιπίωνος μὲν τοῦ μεγάλου
(xxxii. 13) θυγατράσιν, ἀδελφαῖς δὲ τοῦ κατὰ <θέσιν> πατρός, . . . λαβόντος, αὐτὸν ἔδει τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἀπο-
2 δοῦναι τῆς φερνῆς. ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ συνέθετο μὲν ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν θυγατέρων πεντήκοντα τάλαντα δώ-
3 σειν, τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ παραχρῆμα τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἔδωκεν ἡ μήτηρ, τὸ δ᾽ ἥμισυ κατέλειπεν
4 ἀποθνήσκουσα προσοφειλόμενον, ὅθεν ἔδει τὸν Σκιπίωνα διαλύειν τοῦ<το> τὸ χρέος ταῖς τοῦ
5 πατρὸς ἀδελφαῖς. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Ῥωμαίων νόμους δέον ἐν τρισὶν ἔτεσιν ἀποδοῦναι τὰ προσ-

by Scipio to his mother,[a] who had been for many years separated from her husband, and whose means were not sufficient to maintain a state suitable to her rank. Formerly she had kept to her house on the occasion of such functions, and now when a solemn public sacrifice happened to take place, and she drove out in all Aemilia's state and splendour, and when in addition the carriage and pair and the muleteers were seen to be the same, all the women who witnessed it were lost in admiration of Scipio's goodness and generosity and, lifting up their hands, prayed that every blessing might be his. Such conduct would naturally be admired anywhere, but in Rome it was a marvel; for absolutely no one there ever gives away anything to anyone if he can help it. This then was the first origin of his reputation for nobility of character, and it advanced rapidly, for women are fond of talking and once they have started a thing never have too much of it.

27. In the next place he had to pay the daughters of the great Scipio, the sisters of his adoptive father, the half of their portion. Their father had agreed to give each of his daughters fifty talents, and their mother had paid the half of this to their husbands at once on their marriage, but left the other half owing on her death. Thus Scipio had to pay this debt to his father's sisters. According to Roman law the part of the dowry still due had to be paid to the ladies in

[a] Her name was Papiria.

ὀφειλόμενα χρήματα τῆς φερνῆς ταῖς γυναιξί,
προδοθέντων πρώτων τῶν ἐπίπλων εἰς δέκα
6 μῆνας κατὰ τὸ παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις ἔθος, εὐθέως ὁ Σκι-
πίων συνέταξε τῷ τραπεζίτῃ τῶν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε
ταλάντων ἑκατέρᾳ ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀνταπόδοσιν
7 ἐν τοῖς δέκα μησί. τοῦ δὲ Τεβερίου <καὶ> τοῦ
Νασικᾶ Σκιπίωνος, οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἄνδρες τῶν
προειρημένων γυναικῶν, ἅμα τῷ διελθεῖν τοὺς
δέκα μῆνας προσπορευομένων πρὸς τὸν τραπε-
ζίτην καὶ πυνθανομένων, εἴ τι συνετέτακτο Σκι-
πίων αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων, κἀκείνου κελεύ-
οντος αὐτοὺς κομίζεσθαι καὶ ποιοῦντος τὴν δια-
γραφὴν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν εἴκοσι καὶ πέντε ταλάντων,
8 ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν· δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐ πᾶν
κατὰ τὸ παρόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τρίτον μέρος κομίζεσθαι
9 κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. τοῦ δὲ φάσκοντος οὕτως
αὐτῷ συντεταχέναι τὸν Σκιπίωνα, διαπιστήσαντες
προῆγον ἐπὶ τὸν νεανίσκον, διειληφότες ἐκεῖνον
10 ἀγνοεῖν. καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἔπασχον οὐκ ἀλόγως· οὐ
γὰρ οἷον πεντήκοντα τάλαντα δοίη τις ἂν ἐν
Ῥώμῃ πρὸ τριῶν ἐτῶν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τάλαντον ἓν
11 πρὸ τῆς τεταγμένης ἡμέρας· τοιαύτη τίς ἐστι καὶ
τηλικαύτη παρὰ πάντας ἅμα μὲν ἀκρίβεια περὶ
τὸ διάφορον, ἅμα δὲ λυσιτέλεια περὶ τὸν χρόνον.
12 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ προσπορευθέντων αὐτῶν καὶ πυνθανο-
μένων πῶς τῷ τραπεζίτῃ συντέταχε, τοῦ δ᾽
εἰπόντος ἀποδοῦναι πᾶν τὸ χρῆμα ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς,
ἀγνοεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ἅμα τὸ κηδεμονικὸν ἐμ-
13 φανίζοντες· ἐξεῖναι γὰρ αὐτὸν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους
14 χρῆσθαι τοῖς διαφόροις ἱκανὸν ἔτι χρόνον. ὁ δὲ
Σκιπίων ἔφησεν ἀγνοεῖν τούτων οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς
μὲν τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τὴν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἀκρίβειαν

three years, the personal property being first handed over within ten months according to Roman usage. But Scipio at once ordered his banker to pay each of them in ten months the whole twenty-five talents. When the ten months had elapsed, and Tiberius Gracchus and Scipio Nasica, who were the husbands of the ladies, applied to the banker and asked him if he had received any orders from Scipio about the money, and when the banker asked them to receive the sum and made out for each of them a transfer of twenty-five talents, they said he was mistaken; for according to law they should not at once receive the whole sum, but only a third of it. But when he told them that these were Scipio's orders, they could not believe it, but went on to call on the young man, under the impression that he was in error. And this was quite natural on their part; for not only would no one in Rome pay fifty talents three years before it was due, but no one would pay one talent before the appointed day; so universal and so extreme is their exactitude about money as well as their desire to profit by every moment of time. However, when they called on Scipio and asked him what orders he had given the banker, and he told them he had ordered him to pay the whole sum to his sisters, they said he was mistaken, at the same time insisting on their care for his interests, since he had the legal right to use the sum for a considerable time yet. Scipio answered that he was quite aware of that, but that while as regards strangers he insisted on the letter

τηρεῖν, τοῖς δὲ συγγενέσι καὶ φίλοις ἁπλῶς χρῆ-
15 σθαι <καὶ> γενναίως κατὰ δύναμιν. διὸ παρα-
λαμβάνειν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε πᾶν τὸ χρῆμα παρὰ τοῦ
16 τραπεζίτου. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον ταῦτ'
ἀκούσαντες ἐπανῆγον σιωπῶντες, καταπεπληγ-
μένοι μὲν τὴν τοῦ Σκιπίωνος μεγαλοψυχίαν,
κατεγνωκότες δὲ τῆς αὐτῶν μικρολογίας, καίπερ
ὄντες οὐδενὸς δεύτεροι Ῥωμαίων.

28 Μετὰ δ' ἔτη δύο μεταλλάξαντος τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν
(xxxii. 14) πατρὸς αὐτοῦ Λευκίου καὶ καταλιπόντος κληρο-
νόμους τῆς οὐσίας αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν
Φάβιον, καλόν τι καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον ἐποίησεν. ὁ
2 γὰρ Λεύκιος ὑπάρχων ἄτεκνος διὰ τὸ τοὺς <μὲν>
εἰς ἑτέρας οἰκίας ἐκδεδόσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους υἱούς,
οὓς ἔτρεφε διαδόχους [καὶ] τοῦ γένους, πάντας
3 μετηλλαχέναι, τούτοις ἀπέλιπε τὴν οὐσίαν. ὁ
δὲ Σκιπίων θεωρῶν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀδελφὸν κατα-
δεέστερον ὄντα τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐξεχώρησε πάντων
τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, οὔσης τῆς ὅλης τιμήσεως ὑπὲρ
ἑξήκοντα τάλαντα, διὰ τὸ μέλλειν οὕτως ἴσον
ὑπάρχειν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν τὸν Φάβιον.
4 γενομένου δὲ τούτου περιβοήτου, προσέθηκεν
ἕτερον τούτῳ δεῖγμα τῆς αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεως
5 ἐμφανέστερον· βουλομένου γὰρ τἀδελφοῦ μονο-
μαχίας ἐπὶ τῷ πατρὶ ποιεῖν, οὐ δυναμένου δὲ
δέξασθαι τὴν δαπάνην διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀνα-
λισκομένων χρημάτων, καὶ ταύτης τὴν ἡμίσειαν
6 εἰσήνεγκεν ὁ Σκιπίων ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας. ἔστι
δ' οὐκ ἐλάττων ἡ σύμπασα τριάκοντα ταλάντων,
7 ἐάν τις μεγαλομερῶς ποιῇ. . . . φήμης περὶ αὐ-
8 τοῦ <δια>διδομένης, μετήλλαξεν ἡ μήτηρ. ὁ δὲ
τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τοῦ κομίσασθαί <τι> ὧν πρότερον

of the law, he behaved as far as he could in an informal and liberal way to his relatives and friends. He therefore begged them to accept the whole sum from the banker. Tiberius and Nasica on hearing this went away without replying, astounded at Scipio's magnanimity and abashed at their own meanness, although they were second to none in Rome.

28. Two years later, when his own father Aemilius died, and left him and his brother Fabius heirs to his estate, he again acted in a noble manner deserving of mention. Aemilius was childless, as he had given some of his sons to be adopted by other families and those whom he had kept to succeed him were dead, and he therefore left his property to Scipio and Fabius. Scipio, knowing that his brother was by no means well off, gave up the whole inheritance, which was estimated at more than sixty talents, to him in order that Fabius might thus possess a fortune equal to his own. This became widely known, and he now gave an even more conspicuous proof of his generosity. His brother wished to give a gladiatorial show on the occasion of his father's funeral, but was unable to meet the expense, which was very considerable, and Scipio contributed the half of it out of his own fortune. The total expense of such a show amounts to not less than thirty talents if it is done on a generous scale. While the report of this was still fresh, his mother died, and Scipio, far from taking back any of the

ἐδωρήσατο, περὶ ὧν ἀρτίως εἶπον, ὥστε καὶ
ταῦτα καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν οὐσίαν τὴν τῆς μητρὸς
ἅπασαν ἀπέδωκε ταῖς ἀδελφαῖς, ἧς οὐδὲν αὐταῖς
9 προσῆκε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. διὸ πάλιν τῶν
ἀδελφῶν παραλαβουσῶν τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐξόδοις κό-
σμον καὶ τὴν περίστασιν τὴν τῆς Αἰμιλίας, πάλιν
ἐκαινοποιήθη τὸ μεγαλόψυχον καὶ φιλοίκειον τῆς
τοῦ Σκιπίωνος προαιρέσεως.

10 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν προκατεσκευασμένος ἐκ τῆς
πρώτης ἡλικίας Πόπλιος Σκιπίων προῆλθε πρὸς
11 τὸ φιλοδοξεῖν σωφροσύνῃ καὶ καλοκἀγαθίᾳ. εἰς
ἣν ἴσως ἑξήκοντα τάλαντα δαπανήσας, τοσαῦτα
γὰρ ἦν προειμένος τῶν ἰδίων, ὁμολογουμένην
ἔσχε τὴν ἐπὶ καλοκἀγαθίᾳ φήμην, οὐχ οὕτω τῷ
πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων τὸ προκείμενον κατεργασά-
μενος ὡς τῷ καιρῷ τῆς δόσεως καὶ τῷ χειρισμῷ
12 τῆς χάριτος. τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην περιεποιήσατο
δαπανήσας μὲν οὐδέν, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ποικίλων
ἡδονῶν ἀποσχόμενος προσεκέρδανε τὴν σωμα-
13 τικὴν ὑγίειαν καὶ τὴν εὐεξίαν, ἥτις αὐτῷ παρ'
ὅλον τὸν βίον παρεπομένη πολλὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ
καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἀπέδωκεν ἀνθ' ὧν πρότερον ἀπ-
έσχετο τῶν προχείρων ἡδονῶν.

29 Λοιποῦ δ' ὄντος τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν <μέ-
(xxxii. 15) ρους> καὶ κυριωτάτου σχεδὸν ἐν πάσῃ μὲν πολι-
τείᾳ μάλιστα δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, μεγίστην ἔδει καὶ
τὴν ἄσκησιν περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ποιήσασθαι.
2 καλὸν μὲν οὖν τι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἐπιβολὴν αὐτῷ
3 καὶ διὰ τῆς τύχης ἐγένετο συνέργημα. τῶν
γὰρ ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλικῶν μεγίστην ποιου-
μένων σπουδὴν περὶ τὰς κυνηγεσίας καὶ Μακε-
δόνων ἀνεικότων τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους τόπους

gifts I mentioned above, gave the whole of it and the residue of his mother's property to his sisters, who had no legal claim to it. So that again when his sisters had thus come into the processional furniture and all the establishment of Aemilia, the fame of Scipio for magnanimity and family affection was again revived.

Having thus from his earliest years laid the foundations of it, Publius Scipio advanced in his pursuit of this reputation for temperance and nobility of character. By the expenditure of perhaps sixty talents—for that was what he had bestowed from his own property—his reputation for the second of these virtues was firmly established, and he did not attain his purpose so much by the largeness of the sums he gave as by the seasonableness of the gift and the gracious manner in which he conferred it. His reputation for temperance cost him nothing, but by abstaining from many and varied pleasures he gained in addition that bodily health and vigour which he enjoyed for the whole of his life, and which by the many pleasures of which it was the cause amply rewarded him for his former abstention from common pleasures.

29. It remained for him to gain a reputation for courage, nearly the most essential virtue in all states and especially so in Rome; and for this the training required of him was correspondingly severe. Chance, however, assisted him also in this determination. For the members of the royal house of Macedon had always been devoted to hunting, and the Macedonians had reserved the most suitable

4 πρὸς τὴν τῶν θηρίων συναγωγήν, ταῦτα συνέβη
τὰ χωρία τετηρῆσθαι μὲν ἐπιμελῶς, καθάπερ
καὶ πρότερον, πάντα τὸν τοῦ πολέμου χρόνον,
κεκυνηγῆσθαι <δὲ> μηδέποτε τῶν τεττάρων ἐτῶν
διὰ τοὺς περισπασμούς· ᾗ καὶ θηρίων ὑπῆρχε
5 πλήρη παντοδαπῶν. τοῦ δὲ πολέμου λαβόντος
κρίσιν, ὁ Λεύκιος καλλίστην ὑπολαμβάνων καὶ
τὴν ἄσκησιν καὶ τὴν ψυχαγωγίαν ὑπάρχειν τοῖς
νέοις τὴν περὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια, τούς τε κυνηγοὺς
συνέστησε τοὺς βασιλικοὺς τῷ Σκιπίωνι καὶ τὴν
ἐξουσίαν τὴν περὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια παρέδωκε τούτῳ
6 πᾶσαν· ἧς ἐπιλαβόμενος ὁ προειρημένος καὶ
νομίσας οἱονεὶ βασιλεύειν, ἐν τούτῳ κατεγίνετο
πάντα τὸν χρόνον, ὅσον ἐπέμεινε τὸ στρατόπεδον
7 μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ. γενομένης
δὲ μεγάλης ἐνθουσιάσεως περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος,
ὡς κατά τε τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμαίως ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ
καὶ κατὰ φύσιν οἰκείως διακειμένου, καθάπερ
εὐγενοῦς σκύλακος, ἐπίμονον αὐτοῦ συνέβη γε-
8 νέσθαι τὴν περὶ τὰς κυνηγεσίας ὁρμήν. διὸ
καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ προσλαβὼν
τὸν τοῦ Πολυβίου πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἐνθουσια-
σμόν, ἐφ᾽ ὅσον οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν νέων περὶ τὰς κρίσεις
καὶ τοὺς χαιρετισμοὺς ἐσπούδαζον, κατὰ τὴν
ἀγορὰν ποιούμενοι τὴν διατριβήν, καὶ διὰ τούτων
9 συνιστάνειν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπειρῶντο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἐπὶ
τοσοῦτον ὁ Σκιπίων ἐν ταῖς κυνηγεσίαις ἀνα-
στρεφόμενος καὶ λαμπρὸν ἀεί τι ποιῶν καὶ μνήμης
10 ἄξιον καλλίω δόξαν ἐξεφέρετο τῶν ἄλλων. οἷς
μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἦν ἐπαίνου τυχεῖν, εἰ μὴ βλάψαιέν
τινα τῶν πολιτῶν· ὁ γὰρ τῶν κρίσεων τρόπος
11 τοῦτ᾽ ἐπιφέρειν εἴωθεν· ὁ δ᾽ ἁπλῶς οὐδένα λυπῶν

areas for breeding game. These districts during the war had been as carefully preserved as formerly, but had never been hunted for four years owing to the exigencies of the times, so that there was an abundance of big game of every kind. When the war had been brought to a conclusion, Aemilius, thinking that hunting was the best training and amusement for the young men, placed the royal huntsmen at Scipio's disposal, and gave him complete control over the preserves. Scipio, availing himself of this and regarding himself as being nearly in the position of king, spent the whole time that the army remained in Macedonia after the battle of Pydna in this pursuit, and, as he became a very enthusiastic sportsman, being of the right age and physique for such an exercise, like a well-bred dog, this taste of his for hunting became permanent. So that when he arrived in Rome and when he found in Polybius one equally devoted to the chase, all the time that other young men gave up to law affairs and greetings, spending the whole day in the forum and thus trying to court the favour of the populace, Scipio was occupied by the chase, and by his brilliant and memorable exploits, acquired a higher reputation than anyone. For the others could not win praise except by injuring some of their fellow-citizens, this being the usual consequence of prosecutions in the law courts; but Scipio, without ever vexing a soul, gained this

ἐξεφέρετο τὴν ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ δόξαν πάνδημον, ἔργῳ
12 πρὸς λόγον ἁμιλλώμενος. τοιγαροῦν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ
τοσοῦτον παρέδραμε τοὺς καθ' αὑτὸν ὅσον οὐδεὶς
πω μνημονεύεται Ῥωμαίων, καίπερ τὴν ἐναντίαν
ὁδὸν πορευθεὶς ἐν φιλοδοξίᾳ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι
πρὸς τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα.

30 Ἐγὼ δὲ πλείω πεποίημαι λόγον ὑπὲρ τῆς
(xxxii. 16) Σκιπίωνος αἱρέσεως ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας,
ἡδεῖαν μὲν ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις,
ὠφέλιμον δὲ τοῖς νέοις τὴν τοιαύτην ἱστορίαν,
2 μάλιστα δὲ βουλόμενος πίστιν παρασκευάζειν
τοῖς λέγεσθαι μέλλουσιν ἐν ταῖς ἑξῆς βύβλοις
περὶ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ μήτε διαπορεῖν τοὺς ἀκούοντας
διὰ τὸ παράδοξά τινα φανήσεσθαι τῶν συμβαι-
3 νόντων μετὰ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτόν, μήτ' ἀφαιρου-
μένους τἀνδρὸς <τὰ> κατὰ λόγον γεγονότα κατ-
ορθώματα τῇ τύχῃ προσάπτειν, ἀγνοοῦντας τὰς
αἰτίας, ἐξ ὧν ἕκαστα συνέβη γενέσθαι, πλὴν
τελέως ὀλίγων, ἃ δεῖ μόνα προσάπτειν τῇ τύχῃ
καὶ ταὐτομάτῳ.
4 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἡμεῖς διεληλυθότες
κατὰ τὴν παρέκβασιν αὖθις ἐπάνιμεν ἐπὶ τὴν
ἐκτροπὴν τῆς ὑποκειμένης διηγήσεως.

X. Res Graeciae

31 Ὅτι Ῥόδιοι τἄλλα σῴζοντες τὴν τοῦ πολιτεύ-
(25) (17a) ματος προστασίαν βραχὺ παρώλισθον ἐν τούτοις
τοῖς καιροῖς, ὡς ἐμὴ δόξα· ἐπεδέξαντο γὰρ σίτου
μυριάδας ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι παρ' Εὐμένους χάριν
τοῦ τὸ λογευθὲν ἐκ τούτων δανείζεσθαι, τὸν δὲ

universal reputation for courage, matching his deeds against their words. So that in a short space of time he had outstripped his contemporaries more than is recorded of any other Roman, although the path he pursued to gain glory was quite the opposite of that followed by all others in accordance with Roman usage and custom.

30. I have spoken at such length of the development of Scipio's character from his earliest years partly because I thought the story would be agreeable to those advanced in years and salutary for the young, but chiefly in order to secure credence for all I shall have to tell of him in the Books which follow, so that readers may neither hesitate to accept as true anything in his subsequent life that seems astonishing nor depriving the man himself of the credit of his meritorious achievements put them down to chance from ignorance of the true cause of each. There were some few exceptions which we may assign to good luck and chance.

After this long digression I will now resume my regular narrative.

X. Affairs of Greece

The Rhodians and Eumenes

31. The Rhodians, while in other respects maintaining the dignity of their state, slightly deviated from it at this time, in my opinion, by accepting from Eumenes 280,000 medimni of corn for the purpose of lending out the proceeds and applying the interest to

τόκον εἰς τοὺς μισθοὺς ὑπάρχειν τοῖς παιδευταῖς
2 καὶ διδασκάλοις τῶν υἱῶν. τοῦτο δέ, στενο-
χωρίας μὲν ὑπαρχούσης καθάπαξ ἐπὶ τῶν κατ'
ἰδίαν βίων, ἴσως ἂν ἐπιδέξαιτό τις παρὰ τῶν
φίλων ἕνεκα τοῦ μὴ περιιδεῖν ἀπαίδευτα γενό-
μενα τὰ τέκνα διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν· εὐκαιρῶν δὲ
τῷ βίῳ πᾶν ἄν τις ὑπομείναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν διδό-
μενον τοῖς διδασκάλοις μισθὸν ἐρανίζεσθαι παρὰ
3 τῶν φίλων· ὅσῳ δὲ μεῖζον δεῖ πολιτείαν ἰδιώτου
φρονεῖν, τοσῷδε καὶ τὸ πρέπον ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν
μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἰδίων τηρητέον, Ῥοδίοις δὲ καὶ
τελέως διά τε τὴν εὐκαιρίαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς
καὶ τὴν ἐπίφασιν τῆς σεμνότητος.

XI. Res Asiae

32 Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Προυσίας μὲν ἐξέπεμψεν
(xxxii. 3) εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πρεσβευτὰς μετὰ Γαλατῶν τοὺς
2 κατηγορήσοντας Εὐμένους, οὗτος δὲ πάλιν τὸν
ἀδελφὸν Ἄτταλον ἐξαπέστειλεν ἀπολογησόμενον
3 πρὸς τὰς διαβολάς. Ἀριαράθης δὲ τῇ τε Ῥώμῃ
στέφανον ἀπὸ χρυσῶν μυρίων ἔπεμψε καὶ πρε-
σβευτὰς τοὺς διασαφήσοντας τῇ συγκλήτῳ τὴν
πρὸς τὸν Τεβέριον ἀπάντησιν αὐτοῦ καὶ καθόλου
παρακαλέσοντας διασαφεῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν δέωνται,
διότι πᾶν ποιήσειν ἕτοιμός ἐστι Ῥωμαίοις τὸ παρ-
αγγελλόμενον.

33 Ὅτι τοῦ Μηνοχάρους παραγενηθέντος εἰς τὴν
(xxxii. 4) Ἀντιόχειαν πρὸς Δημήτριον καὶ διασαφήσαντος
τῷ βασιλεῖ τὴν γεγενημένην ἔντευξιν αὐτῷ πρὸς
2 τοὺς περὶ Τεβέριον ἐν τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ, νομίσας
ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναγκαιότατον εἶναι τῶν παρόντων

the payment of the salaries of the tutors and teachers of their sons. Such a gift might perhaps be accepted from his friends by a private person who found himself in temporary straits in order not to allow his children to remain untaught through poverty, but the last thing that anyone in affluent circumstances would submit to would be to go a-begging among his friends for money to pay teachers. And, as a state should have more pride than a private person, more strict propriety of conduct should be observed in public transactions than in private, and especially by the Rhodians owing to the wealth of the community and their noted sense of dignity.

XI. Affairs of Asia

32. In Asia, Prusias and the Galatians dispatched envoys to Rome to accuse Eumenes, and that prince sent his brother Attalus to defend him against the charges. Ariarathes sent a " crown " of a thousand gold pieces to the goddess Rome and envoys to inform the senate of his reply to Tiberius, begging them to point out to him what they required of him, as he was ready to comply with all the commands of the Romans.

Submission of Demetrius

33. When Menochares reached Demetrius at Antioch and informed him of his interview with Tiberius Gracchus in Cappadocia, the king, thinking that the most urgent thing for the present was to

τὸ τοὺς προειρημένους ἄνδρας ἐξομιλῆσαι καθ'
3 ὅσον οἷός τ' ἦν, πάντα τἄλλα πάρεργα ποιησάμενος διεπέμπετο πρὸς τούτους, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς Παμφυλίαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν εἰς Ῥόδον, πάντα ποιήσειν Ῥωμαίοις ἀναδεχόμενος, ἕως ἐξειργάσατο βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν προσαγορευ-
4 θῆναι. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁ Τεβέριος εὔνους αὐτῷ διαφερόντως· διὸ καὶ μεγάλα συνεβάλετο πρὸς τὸ καθικέσθαι καὶ κτήσασθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν
5 αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Δημήτριος τυχὼν τῆς προειρημένης ἀφορμῆς εὐθέως εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἔπεμπε πρεσβευτὰς στέφανόν τε κομίζοντας καὶ τὸν αὐτόχειρα τοῦ Γναΐου γεγονότα καὶ σὺν τούτοις τὸν κριτικὸν Ἰσοκράτην.

talk over Tiberius as far as he could, treated other matters as of secondary importance and sent messages to Tiberius first to Pamphylia and next to Rhodes, engaging to submit entirely to Rome, and finally succeeded in getting himself recognized as king. Tiberius indeed was very kindly disposed to Demetrius, and therefore contributed much to the success of his efforts and his establishment on the throne. Demetrius having thus gained his object, at once sent envoys to Rome conveying a present of a "crown," as well as the murderer of Gnaeus Octavius and the critic Isocrates.

FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXII

I. Res Italiae

1 Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἧκον παρ' Ἀρια-
(5) ράθου πρέσβεις στέφανόν τε κομίζοντες ἀπὸ
μυρίων χρυσῶν καὶ διασαφοῦντες τὴν τοῦ βασι-
λέως προαίρεσιν, ἣν ἔχει πρὸς τὰ Ῥωμαίων
2 πράγματα, . . . καὶ τούτων μάρτυρας ἐπήγοντο
3 τοὺς περὶ τὸν Τεβέριον. ὧν ἀνθομολογησαμένων
ἡ σύγκλητος τόν τε στέφανον ἀπεδέξατο μετὰ
μεγάλης χάριτος καὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν παρ' αὐτῇ
νομιζομένων δώρων ἀνταπέστειλε, τόν τε σκίπωνα
4 καὶ τὸν ἐλεφάντινον δίφρον. τούτους μὲν οὖν
ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔτι πρὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος ἀπέλυσεν ἡ σύγ-
5 κλητος. μετὰ δὲ τούτους Ἀττάλου παραγενη-
θέντος, ἤδη τῶν ὑπάτων τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰληφότων,
καὶ τῶν Γαλατῶν αὐτοῦ κατηγορησάντων, οὓς
6 ἀπεστάλκει Προυσίας, <καὶ> πλειόνων ἑτέρων
ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας, διακούσασα πάντων ἡ σύγκλητος
οὐ μόνον ἀπέλυσε τῶν διαβολῶν τὸν Ἄτταλον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαυξήσασα τοῖς φιλανθρώποις ἐξ-
7 απέστειλε· καθ' ὅσον γὰρ ἀπηλλοτρίωτο τοῦ
βασιλέως καὶ διεφέρετο πρὸς τὸν Εὐμένη, κατὰ
τοσοῦτον ἐφιλοποιεῖτο καὶ συνηῦξε τὸν Ἄτταλον.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXII

I. Affairs of Italy

Embassies of Ariarathes and Attalus

1. At this time arrived the envoys from Ariarathes 160-159 B.C. bringing the "crown" of ten thousand gold pieces, and informing the senate of the king's friendly mind towards Rome. They appealed for this to the testimony of Tiberius, and when the latter confirmed what they said, the senate accepted the crown with many thanks and sent in return the most honourable gifts that they are used to bestow, the sceptre and the ivory chair. These envoys were let go by the senate at once, before the beginning of winter, and afterwards when the consuls had already entered on office, Attalus presented himself. When the Galatians sent by Prusias and several other envoys from Asia accused Attalus, the senate, after giving them all a hearing, not only dismissed the charges, but sent Attalus back loaded with kindnesses. For the greater their estrangement from Eumenes and their hostility to him, the more did they court the friendship of Attalus and strengthen his power.

2 Ὅτι ἧκον καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου τοῦ βασι-
(6) λέως πρέσβεις οἱ περὶ τὸν Μηνοχάρην, στέφανον
ἀπὸ μυρίων χρυσῶν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κομίζοντες, ἅμα
δὲ καὶ τὸν προσενέγκαντα τῷ Γναΐῳ τὰς χεῖρας
2 ἄγοντες. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος ἐπὶ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον
διηπόρησε περὶ τούτων πῶς δεῖ χρήσασθαι τοῖς
3 πράγμασιν, ὅμως δὲ προσεδέξατο καὶ τοὺς πρε-
σβευτὰς καὶ τὸν στέφανον· τούς γε μὴν ἀγομένους
4 ἀνθρώπους οὐ προσεδέξατο. καίτοι γε Δη-
μήτριος οὐ μόνον τὸν Λεπτίνην ἀπέστειλε τὸν
αὐτόχειρα τοῦ Γναΐου γενόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν
5 Ἰσοκράτην. οὗτος δ' ἦν μὲν γραμματικὸς τῶν
τὰς ἀκροάσεις ποιουμένων, φύσει δ' ὢν λάλος
καὶ πέρπερος καὶ κατακορὴς προσέκοπτε μὲν
καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἅτε καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀλκαῖον
ἐν ταῖς Συγκρίσεσιν ἐπιδεξίως σκωπτόντων αὐτὸν
6 καὶ διαχλευαζόντων, παραγενόμενος δ' εἰς τὴν
Συρίαν καὶ καταφρονήσας τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ
ἠρκεῖτο περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ποιού-
7 μενος τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πραγματικὰς ἀπο-
φάσεις ἐξέβαλε, φάσκων δίκαια πεπονθέναι τὸν
Γνάιον, δεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πρεσβευτὰς
ἀπολωλέναι πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ τὸν ἀγγελοῦντα κατα-
λειφθῆναι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὸ γεγονός, ἵνα παύ-
σωνται τῶν ὑπερηφάνων ἐπιταγμάτων καὶ τῆς
8 ἀνέδην ἐξουσίας. τοιαῦτα μὲν οὖν ῥιψολογῶν
ἐνέπεσεν εἰς τὴν προειρημένην ἀτυχίαν.

3 Ἐγένετο δέ τι περὶ τοὺς προειρημένους ἄξιον
(7) 2 μνήμης. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Λεπτίνης μετὰ τὸ προσεν-
εγκεῖν Γναΐῳ τὰς χεῖρας εὐθέως ἐν τῇ Λαοδικείᾳ
περιῄει φανερῶς, φάσκων δίκαια πεποιηκέναι

Embassies from Demetrius

2. Envoys headed by Menochares also came from King Demetrius bringing the "crown" of ten thousand gold pieces dedicated to Rome, and with the assassin of Gnaeus Octavius in their custody. The senate remained long in doubt as to how to deal with the matter, but nevertheless they received the crown and the envoys. They did not, however, take over the men who were in custody. And yet Demetrius had not only sent Leptines, the murderer of Gnaeus, but also Isocrates. This man was one of those grammarians who declaim in public, and being by nature a chatterbox, a braggart, and a bore, had given offence in Greece also, where Alcaeus [a] had very cleverly taken him off and made fun of him in his *Comparisons*, and when he came to Syria and conceived a contempt for the inhabitants, he was not satisfied with holding forth on his own subjects, but gave vent to pronouncements on public affairs, saying that Gnaeus had met with his deserts, and that the other legates should have been killed also, so that not one should be left to report the matter to the Romans, and this would put a stop to their haughty orders and their unrestrained exercise of power. It was by these incautious utterances that he got himself into trouble as I have stated.

3. What happened in regard to these two men is worth mentioning. Leptines, after he had murdered Gnaeus, at once began to go about in Laodicea quite openly, saying that he had done rightly and with the

[a] Probably an Epicurean philosopher and writer of this name.

καὶ μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γνώμης ταῦτα πεπραχέναι.
3 τοῦ δὲ Δημητρίου παραλαβόντος τὰ πράγματα,
προσεπορεύετο τῷ βασιλεῖ, παρακαλῶν αὐτὸν
μὴ δεδιέναι <διὰ> τὸν Γναΐου φόνον μηδὲ βου-
λεύεσθαι μηδὲν δυσχερὲς κατὰ τῶν Λαοδικέων·
4 αὐτὸς γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην πορεύσεσθαι καὶ διδά-
ξειν τὴν σύγκλητον ὅτι μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν γνώμης
5 ταῦτα πεποίηκεν. καὶ πέρας διὰ τὴν ἑτοιμότητα
καὶ προθυμίαν οὗτος μὲν ἄνευ δεσμῶν ἤχθη καὶ
6 φυλακῆς, ὁ δ᾽ Ἰσοκράτης ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τὴν αἰτίαν
ὁλοσχερῶς παρεξέστη τῇ διανοίᾳ. τοῦ κλοιοῦ
δ᾽ αὐτῷ περὶ τὸν τράχηλον περιτεθέντος καὶ τῆς
ἁλύσεως, σπανίως μὲν καὶ τὴν τροφὴν προσίετο,
τῆς δὲ τοῦ σώματος θεραπείας εἰς τέλος ἀπέστη.
7 διὸ καὶ παρεγένετ᾽ εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην θέαμα θαυμά-
σιον, εἰς ὃν ἀποβλέψας ἄν τις ὁμολογήσειεν διότι
καὶ κατὰ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν οὐδέν ἐστιν
ἀνθρώπου φοβερώτερον, ὅταν ἅπαξ ἀποθηριωθῇ.
8 ἥ τε γὰρ ὄψις ἐκτόπως ἦν αὐτοῦ φοβερὰ καὶ
θηριώδης, ὡς ἂν πλεῖον ἐνιαυτοῦ μὴ τὸν ῥύπον,
9 μὴ τοὺς ὄνυχας, μὴ τὰς τρίχας ἀφῃρημένου, τά
τε κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκ <τῆς> τῶν ὀμμάτων
ἐμφάσεως καὶ κινήσεως τοιαύτην ἐποιεῖτο τὴν
φαντασίαν ὥστε τὸν θεασάμενον πρὸς πᾶν ζῷον
10 ἑτοιμότερον ἂν προσελθεῖν ἢ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον. ὁ
δὲ Λεπτίνης μένων ἐπὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς προαιρέσεως
εἴς τε τὴν σύγκλητον ἕτοιμος ἦν εἰσπορεύεσθαι
πρός τε τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἁπλῶς ἀνθωμολο-
γεῖτο περὶ τῆς πράξεως, καὶ προσδιωρίζετο
μηδὲν αὐτῷ δυσχερὲς ἀπαντήσειν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων.
11 καὶ τέλος εὐστόχησε τῆς ἐλπίδος· ἡ γὰρ σύγ-
κλητος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ὑπολαβοῦσα διότι δόξει

favour of Heaven. Upon the accession of Demetrius he approached the king and begged him to have no fear owing to the murder of Gnaeus, and to take no vigorous steps against the Laodiceans. "For I, myself," he said, "will go to Rome and convince the senate that I did the deed by the will of the gods." And finally, owing to his readiness and eagerness to go, he was brought to Rome unfettered and without a guard. But Isocrates, as soon as he found himself accused, completely lost his wits, and after the collar with its chain had been put on his neck, seldom took any food and entirely left off taking any care of his person. So that when he arrived in Rome he was a wonderful spectacle, and when one looked at him one could not but confess that there is nothing more terrible in body and soul than a man once he has become absolutely like a beast. For both his aspect was strangely terrifying and beastlike, as for more than a year he had neither washed nor cut his nails and hair; and the disorder of his mind, as was evident from the expression and rolling of his eyes, impressed one with such terror, that anyone who looked at him would have been readier to approach any beast than this man. Leptines, however, maintaining his original attitude, was ready to appear before the senate, and confessed his crime quite simply to those who conversed with him, maintaining at the same time that the Romans would not deal severely with him. And he proved to be quite right. For the senate, taking into consideration, as it seems to me, that the

τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔχειν τοῦ φόνου δίκην, ἐὰν τοὺς αἰτίους παραλαβοῦσα τιμωρήσηται, τούτους μὲν
12 οὐ προσεδέξατο μικροῦ δεῖν, ἐτήρει δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀκέραιον, ὥστ' ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν, ὅτε βουληθείη,
13 χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἐγκλήμασι. διὸ καὶ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκε τοιαύτην τῷ Δημητρίῳ, διότι τεύξεται τῶν φιλανθρώπων, ἐὰν τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιῇ τῇ συγκλήτῳ κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξουσίαν.
14 Ἧκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πρέσβεις οἱ περὶ Ξένωνα καὶ Τηλεκλῆν ὑπὲρ τῶν κατῃτιαμένων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ Πολυβίου καὶ τοῦ Στρα-
15 τίου χάριν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λοιποὺς σχεδὸν ἅπαντας ὁ χρόνος ἤδη καταναλώκει, τούς γε δὴ καὶ μνήμης
16 ἀξίους. παρῆσαν δ' οἱ πρέσβεις ἐντολὰς ἔχοντες ἁπλῶς ἀξιωματικὰς χάριν τοῦ πρὸς μηδὲν ἀντι-
17 φιλονικεῖν τῇ συγκλήτῳ. εἰσπορευθέντων δὲ καὶ ποιησαμένων τοὺς ἁρμόζοντας λόγους, οὐδ' ὧς οὐδὲν ἠνύσθη, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον ἔδοξε τῇ συγκλήτῳ μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων.

II. Res Graeciae

4 (19) (20) Ὅτι Λυκίσκου τοῦ Αἰτωλοῦ ταραχώδους ὄντος καὶ θορυβώδους, ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ τούτου, τὸ ἑξῆς οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ ὡμοφρόνησαν καὶ ὡμονόησαν
2 ἑνὸς ἀνθρώπου παραχωρήσαντος· τηλικαύτη τίς ἐστιν, ὡς ἔοικε, δύναμις ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσεσιν, ὥστε μὴ μόνον στρατόπεδα καὶ πόλεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐθνικὰς συστάσεις καὶ τὰς ὁλοσχερεῖς διαφορὰς τῆς οἰκουμένης δι' ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς

people would think that the murder was avenged, if those guilty of it were given up and punished, scarcely gave a reception to these envoys, but kept the grievance open so as to have the power to make use of the accusations when they wished. The reply, therefore, that they gave to Demetrius was simply this, that he would meet with kindness from them, if his conduct during his reign was satisfactory to the senate.

There also came from Achaea an embassy consisting of Xenon and Telecles to plead in favour of the accused Achaeans and chiefly on behalf of Polybius and Stratius. For most of the rest, at least those of any note, had already paid their debt to time. The envoys came with orders simply to present a request to avoid anything like a dispute with the senate. They appeared before the house and addressed it in suitable language, but even this had no result, the senate deciding on the contrary to leave matters as they were.

II. Affairs of Greece

Aetolia after the Death of Lyciscus

4. Lyciscus the Aetolian was a turbulent and noisy man, and after he was slain, the Aetolians from this time forward lived in unison and concord, simply owing to the removal of this one man. So great it seems is the power exercised by men's natures that not only armies and cities, but national groups and in fact all the different peoples which compose the

ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν ποτὲ μὲν τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν
ποτὲ δὲ τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν πεῖραν λαμβά-
νειν.
3 Ὅτι Λυκίσκος κάκιστος ὢν καλῶς κατέστρεψε
τὸν βίον, ὥστε τοὺς πλείστους εἰκότως ὀνειδίζειν
τῇ τύχῃ διότι <τὸ> τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἆθλον
τὴν εὐθανασίαν τοῖς χειρίστοις ἐνίοτε περιτίθησιν.

5 Ὅτι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αἰτωλίαν καλῶς διετέθη,
(20) (21) κατεσβεσμένης ἐν αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐμφυλίου στάσεως
2 μετὰ τὸν Λυκίσκου θάνατον, καὶ Μνασίππου τοῦ
Κορωναίου μεταλλάξαντος τὸν βίον βελτίων ἦν
ἡ διάθεσις κατὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
κατὰ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν Χρέμα γεγονότος ἐκποδών.
3 σχεδὸν γὰρ ὡσανεὶ καθαρμόν τινα συνέβη γενέσθαι
τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τῶν ἀλιτηρίων αὐτῆς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν
4 μεθισταμένων. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸν Ἠπειρώτην
Χάροπα συνεκύρησε κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον
5 ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ μεταλλάξαι τὸν βίον. τὰ δὲ κατὰ
τὴν Ἤπειρον ἔτ᾽ ἐν ἀκαταστασίαις ἦν καὶ ταρα-
χαῖς, <ὡς κατὰ> τοὺς ἐπάνω χρόνους, διὰ τὴν
Χάροπος ὠμότητα καὶ παρανομίαν, ἐξ οὗ συνέβη
6 τελεσθῆναι τὸν πρὸς Περσέα πόλεμον. μετὰ
<γὰρ> τὸ κατακρῖναι Λεύκιον Ἀνίκιον καὶ <Λεύ-
κιον Αἰμίλιον ἀνελεῖν> τοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐπιφανῶν
ἀνδρῶν, τοὺς δ᾽ ἀπαγαγεῖν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ὅσοι
7 καὶ βραχεῖαν ὑποψίαν εἶχον, τότε λαβὼν ὁ Χάροψ
τὴν ἐξουσίαν ὃ βούλοιτο πράττειν, οὐκ ἔστι τῶν
8 δεινῶν ὁποῖον οὐκ ἐποίει, τὰ μὲν δι᾽ αὑτοῦ, τὰ
δὲ διὰ τῶν φίλων, ἅτε νέος μὲν ὢν αὐτὸς κομιδῇ,

whole world, experience the extremities sometimes of misfortune and sometimes of prosperity, owing to the good or bad character of a single man.

Lyciscus was a thoroughly bad man but he ended his life nobly, so that most people reasonably upbraid Fortune, in that she sometimes grants to the worst men that fine death which is the guerdon due to the good and brave.

Career of Charops in Epirus

5. The condition of Aetolia at once improved when their civil broils were extinguished after the death of Lyciscus, and the state of affairs became much better also in Boeotia, when Mnasippus of Coronea had departed this life, and in Acarnania again the same took place when Chremas was removed. We may almost say, in fact that Greece underwent a sort of purgation by the deaths of these men who had been her curse. For it happened that Charops of Epirus also ended his days at Brundisium during this year. Epirus, however, remained still as in the 157 B.C.
preceding years in a very unsettled and disturbed state, all due to the cruelty and lawless violence exercised by Charops ever since the end of the war with Perseus. For after the decision of Lucius Anicius and Lucius Aemilius to put some of the notables to death and transport to Rome all those who had incurred the least suspicion, Charops, being now at liberty to do what he wished, committed every kind of crime either personally or through his friends,

συνδεδραμηκότων δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν χειρίστων
καὶ τῶν εἰκαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὸν ἐκ τῶν
9 ἀλλοτρίων νοσφισμόν. εἶχε δ' οἷον ἐφεδρείαν
καὶ ῥοπὴν πρὸς τὸ πιστεύεσθαι διότι πράττει
κατά τινα λόγον ἃ ποιεῖ καὶ μετὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων
γνώμης τήν τε προϋπάρχουσαν αὐτῷ σύστασιν
πρὸς τοὺς προειρημένους καὶ πρὸς ταύτῃ Μύρτωνα
πρεσβύτην ἄνθρωπον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Νικάνορα,
10 τἄλλα τε μετρίους ἀνθρώπους καὶ δοκοῦντας
εἶναι Ῥωμαίων φίλους, οἳ πολύ τι κεχωρισμένοι
τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον ἁπάσης ἀδικίας οὐκ οἶδ'
ὅπως τότε συνεπέδωκαν αὑτοὺς εἰς τὸ συνεπ-
ισχύειν καὶ κοινωνεῖν ταῖς τοῦ Χάροπος ἀνομίαις.
11 ἐπειδὴ δ' ὁ προειρημένος τοὺς μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀγο-
ρὰν ἀναφανδὸν ἐφόνευσε, τοὺς δ' ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις
οἰκίαις, ἐνίους δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν καὶ κατὰ τὰς
ὁδοὺς ἐπαποστέλλων ἐδολοφόνησε καὶ πάντων
τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐξηνδραποδίσατο τοὺς βίους, ἄλλην
12 ἐπεισῆγε μηχανήν. προέγραφε γὰρ τοὺς εὐ-
καιροῦντας τοῖς βίοις φυγάδας, οὐ μόνον ἄνδρας
13 ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκας· ἀναταθεὶς δὲ τὸν φόβον
τοῦτον ἐχρηματίζετ' ἀεὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας δι'
ἑαυτοῦ, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας διὰ τῆς μητρὸς Φιλώ-
14 τιδος· πάνυ γὰρ εὐφυὲς ἐγένετο καὶ τοῦτο τὸ
πρόσωπον, πρὸς δὲ βίαν καὶ πλεῖόν τι δυνάμενον
συνεργεῖν ἢ κατὰ γυναῖκα.

6 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντας καὶ πάσας ἐξηργυρίσαντο
21) (22) κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν, εἰσῆγον εἰς τὸν δῆμον οὐδὲν
2 ἧττον ἅπαντας τοὺς προγεγραμμένους. οἱ δὲ
πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ τὰ μὲν διὰ τὸν φόβον,
τὰ δὲ καὶ δελεαζόμενοι διὰ τῶν περὶ τὸν Χάροπα
κατέκριναν οὐ φυγῆς ἀλλὰ θανάτου πάντας τοὺς

being himself very young, and all the worst and most unprincipled characters having gathered about him in the hope of stealing other people's property. A sort of support and colour for the belief that he did all he did for valid reason, and with the approval of Rome, lay in his previous close relations with the Romans and in his association with Myrton, an elderly man and his son Nicanor, both of them men of good character and supposed to be friends of the Romans. They had been previously very far from being guilty of any wrong, but for some reason or other they now devoted themselves to the support of Charops and participation in his crimes. After Charops had murdered some citizens openly in the market-place and others in their own houses, after he had sent emissaries to assassinate others at their country-seats and on the roads, and had confiscated the property of all who perished, he introduced a new device, which was to proscribe and sentence to exile all those who were well off, not only the men, but their wives. Under the terror of this menace he went on extorting money himself from the men and from the women through his mother Philotis: for she too was a great expert at this, and as regards the application of force more capable of helping him than one could expect from a woman.

6. After they had stripped them all, both men and women, to the utmost of their power, they nevertheless brought all the proscribed before the popular assembly. The people of Phoenice by a majority, either terrorized or seduced by Charops, condemned all the accused not to exile, but to death as enemies

προσαγγελθέντας ὡς ἀλλότρια φρονοῦντας Ῥω-
3 μαίων. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν πάντες ἔφυγον, ὁ δὲ
Χάροψ ὥρμησεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, ἔχων χρήματα
καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Μύρτωνα μεθ᾽ αὑτοῦ, βουλό-
μενος ἐπισφραγίσασθαι διὰ τῆς συγκλήτου τὴν
4 αὑτοῦ παρανομίαν. ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ κάλλιστον μὲν
ἐγένετο δεῖγμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων αἱρέσεως, κάλ-
λιστον δὲ θέαμα πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι τοῖς παρεπι-
5 δήμοις, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς ἀνακεκλημένοις· ὅ τε
γὰρ Μάρκος, ἀρχιερεὺς ὢν καὶ πρῶτος τῆς συγ-
κλήτου γραφόμενος, ὅ τε Λεύκιος ὁ τὸν Περσέα
νικήσας, μεγίστην ἔχων πίστιν καὶ δύναμιν,
πυνθανόμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα τῷ Χάροπι κατὰ
τὴν Ἤπειρον ἐκώλυσαν εἰς τὰς οἰκίας αὑτῶν
6 εἰσιέναι τὸν Χάροπα. οὗ γενομένου περιβοήτου
πάντες ἐγενήθησαν οἱ παρεπιδημοῦντες περιχα-
ρεῖς, ἀποδεχόμενοι τὸ μισοπόνηρον τῶν Ῥωμαίων.
7 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Χάροπος εἰσελθόντος εἰς τὴν
σύγκλητον, οὐ συγκατέθετο τοῖς ἀξιουμένοις οὐδ᾽
8 ἐβουλήθη δοῦναι ῥητὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς
ἀποστελλομένοις πρεσβευταῖς ἔφη δώσειν ἐντολὰς
9 ἐπισκέψασθαι περὶ τῶν γεγονότων. ὁ δὲ Χάροψ
ἀναχωρήσας ταύτην μὲν τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἀπεσιώ-
πησε, γράψας δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπόθεσιν ἁρμό-
ζουσαν ἀπήγγειλεν ὡς συνευδοκούντων Ῥωμαίων
τοῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πραττομένοις.

III. Res Italiae

7 Ὅτι παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἧκον πρέσβεις . . .
(17) καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν οἱ περὶ Θεαρίδαν καὶ
2 Στέφανον ὑπὲρ τῶν Δηλίων. τοῖς γὰρ Δηλίοις

of Rome. So all these men went into exile; but Charops now left at once for Rome, taking plenty of money and Myrton into the bargain with him, wishing to obtain from the senate a sanction for his lawless violence. This was an occasion on which the Romans gave a very fine example of their high principle and a splendid exhibition of it to all the Greeks resident in Rome, and especially to those in detention there. For both Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, who was pontifex maximus and princeps senatus, and Lucius Aemilius Paullus, who had conquered Perseus and possessed the highest credit and influence, when they learnt of what Charops had done in Epirus, forbade him to enter their houses; and when this was noised abroad all the Greek residents were filled with joy, recognizing the Roman hatred of iniquity. After this, when Charops appeared before the senate, that body neither accorded his requests nor consented to give him a definite answer, but said that they would give the legates they were sending instructions to inquire into what had taken place. Charops, however, after his departure, suppressed this answer, but composed one that suited his own case and published it to make out that the Romans approved of his actions.

III. Affairs of Italy

7. Envoys arrived from Athens and Thearidas and Stephanus from Achaea on behalf of the Delians. For after the cession of Delos to Athens, the Delians, 159–158 B.C.

δοθείσης ἀποκρίσεως παρὰ Ῥωμαίων, μετὰ τὸ
συγχωρηθῆναι τὴν Δῆλον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, αὐτοῖς
3 μὲν ἐκχωρεῖν ἐκ τῆς νήσου, τὰ δ' ὑπάρχοντα
κομίζεσθαι, μεταστάντες εἰς Ἀχαΐαν οἱ Δήλιοι καὶ
πολιτογραφηθέντες ἐβούλοντο τὸ δίκαιον ἐκλαβεῖν
παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς
4 σύμβολον. τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων φασκόντων μηδὲν
εἶναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῆς δικαιοδοσίας ταύτης,
ᾐτοῦντο ῥύσια τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς οἱ Δήλιοι κατὰ
5 τῶν Ἀθηναίων. ὑπὲρ ὧν τότε πρεσβεύσαντες
ἔλαβον ἀπόκρισιν κυρίας εἶναι τὰς κατὰ τοὺς
νόμους γεγενημένας παρὰ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς οἰκονομίας
περὶ τῶν Δηλίων.

IV. Res Pergami

8 (22) Ὅτι Εὐμένης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῇ μὲν σωματικῇ
(23) δυνάμει παραλελυμένος ἦν, τῇ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς
2 λαμπρότητι προσανεῖχεν, ἀνὴρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς πλεί-
στοις οὐδενὸς δεύτερος τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν βασιλέων
γενόμενος, περὶ δὲ τὰ σπουδαιότατα καὶ κάλλιστα
3 μείζων καὶ λαμπρότερος· ὅς γε πρῶτον μὲν
παραλαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν συν-
εσταλμένην τελέως εἰς ὀλίγα καὶ λιτὰ πολισμάτια
ταῖς μεγίσταις τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν δυναστειῶν ἐφ-
4 άμιλλον ἐποίησε τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρχήν, οὐ τύχῃ τὸ πλεῖον
συνεργῷ χρώμενος, οὐθ' ἐκ περιπετείας, ἀλλὰ διὰ
τῆς ἀγχινοίας καὶ φιλοπονίας, ἔτι δὲ πράξεως τῆς
5 αὑτοῦ. δεύτερον φιλοδοξότατος ἐγενήθη καὶ
πλείστας μὲν τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν βασιλέων πόλεις
Ἑλληνίδας εὐεργέτησε, πλείστους δὲ κατ' ἰδίαν
6 ἀνθρώπους ἐσωματοποίησε. τρίτον ἀδελφοὺς ἔχων

having in response to an embassy been ordered by the Romans to evacuate the island, taking their personal property with them, migrated to Achaea, and becoming Achaean citizens claimed that the procedure in suits brought by them against Athenians should be in accordance with the convention between Athens and the Achaeans. When the Athenians denied that this convention applied in any way to them, the Delians demanded the right to make reprisals on the Athenians. This was the reason of their embassy, and the answer received was that all arrangements about the Delians made by the Achaeans according to their laws should stand.

IV. Affairs of Pergamus

8. King Eumenes had lost all his bodily vigour, but his brilliant mental qualities were unimpaired. He was a man in most matters second to none of the princes his contemporaries, but he was greater and more brilliant than any of them in all that was most important and honourable. In the first place while the kingdom, as he inherited it from his father, was confined to a few wretched little towns, he made his own dominions such as to rival the greatest contemporary powers, not for the most part helped by Fortune or by any revolution of circumstance, but by his own acuteness, industry, and energy. Next he was most eager to win reputation, and not only conferred more benefits than any king of his time on Greek cities, but established the fortunes of more individual men. Thirdly, having three brothers not

τρεῖς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ πρᾶξιν . . .,
πάντας τούτους συνέσχε πειθαρχοῦντας αὐτῷ καὶ
δορυφοροῦντας καὶ σῴζοντας τὸ τῆς βασιλείας
7 ἀξίωμα. τοῦτο δὲ σπανίως εὕροι τις ἂν γεγονός.

V. Res Italiae

9 (18) Ὅτι τῶν Ἰσσίων πλεονάκις πεπρεσβευκότων
εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ διασαφούντων ὅτι Δελματεῖς
τὴν χώραν ἀδικοῦσι καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς μετ'
2 αὐτῶν ταττομένας· αὗται δ' εἰσὶν Ἐπέτιον καὶ
Τραγύριον· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν Δαορσῶν ἐγ-
3 καλούντων, ἐξαπέστειλεν ἡ σύγκλητος πρεσβευτὰς
τοὺς περὶ Γάιον Φάννιον ἐποπτεύσοντας τὰ κατὰ
τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα, καὶ μάλιστα τούτων τὰ κατὰ τοὺς
4 Δελματεῖς. οὗτοι δέ, μέχρι μὲν ἔζη Πλευρᾶτος,
ὑπήκουον ἐκείνῳ· μεταλλάξαντος δὲ τούτου τὸν
βίον, καὶ διαδεξαμένου Γενθίου τὴν βασιλείαν,
ἀποστάντες ἀπὸ τούτου τοῖς ὁμόροις προσεπο-
λέμουν καὶ κατεστρέφοντο τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας, ὧν
ἔνιοι καὶ φόρους αὐτοῖς ἔφερον· ὁ δὲ φόρος ἦν
5 θρέμματα καὶ σῖτος. καὶ οἱ μὲν περὶ Φάννιον
ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐξώρμησαν.

10 (24) Ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀριαράθης παρεγένετο εἰς τὴν
(20) 2 Ῥώμην ἔτι θερείας οὔσης· τότε δὲ, παρειλη-
φότων ὑπάτων τὰς ἀρχὰς τῶν περὶ τὸν Σέξτον
Ἰούλιον <καὶ Λεύκιον Αὐρήλιον>, ἐγίνετο περὶ
τὰς κατ' ἰδίαν ἐντεύξεις, οἰκείαν ποιούμενος περι-
κοπὴν καὶ φαντασίαν τῆς ὑποκειμένης περιστά-
3 σεως. παρῆσαν δὲ καὶ παρὰ Δημητρίου πρέσβεις
οἱ περὶ τὸν Μιλτιάδην πρὸς ἑκατέραν τὴν ὑπό-
θεσιν ἡρμοσμένοι· καὶ γὰρ πρὸς Ἀριαράθην ἀπο-

far behind him in age and activity, he kept them all in the position of his obedient satellites and guardians of the dignity of his throne, a thing for which one can find few parallels.

V. Affairs of Italy

Mission of Fannius to Dalmatia

9. As the people of Issa had often sent embassies 158–157 B.C.
to Rome to complain that the Dalmatians continued to raid their territory and the cities in league with them, Epetium and Tragyrium, and as similar accusations had been brought by the Daorsi, the senate dispatched a commission under Gaius Fannius to inquire into the state of Illyria and especially into the conduct of the Dalmatians. The latter, as long as Pleuratus lived, submitted to him, but when he died and Genthius succeeded to the throne, revolting from him they took to making war on the tribes on their borders and reduced the neighbouring peoples, some of whom even paid them tribute in the shape of cattle and corn. This was the object of the mission of Fannius.

10. King Ariarathes arrived in Rome while it was yet summer; and then after the consuls Sextus Julius Caesar and Lucius Aurelius Orestes had entered on office, he occupied himself with private interviews, adapting his dress and retinue to his present distressed circumstances. Miltiades also arrived on a mission from Demetrius, tuned to speak in either sense; for he was ready to defend Demetrius against

λογεῖσθαι καὶ κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ παρεσκευάζοντο
4 φιλαπεχθῶς. ἀπεστάλκει δὲ καὶ Ὀροφέρνης πρε-
σβευτὰς τοὺς περὶ Τιμόθεον καὶ Διογένην, στέφα-
νόν τε κομίζοντας τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ τὴν φιλίαν καὶ
τὴν συμμαχίαν ἀνανεωσομένους, τὸ δὲ πλεῖον
συγκαταστησομένους <πρὸς> τὸν Ἀριαράθην καὶ
τὰ μὲν ἀπολογησομένους, τὰ δὲ κατηγορήσοντας.
5 ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς κατ' ἰδίαν ἐντεύξεσιν μείζω φαν-
τασίαν εἷλκον οἱ περὶ τὸν Διογένην καὶ Μιλτιάδην,
ἅτε καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος πρὸς ἕνα συγκρινόμενοι
καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην περικοπὴν εὐτυχοῦντες πρὸς
6 ἐπταικότα θεωρούμενοι· παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ περὶ
τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξήγησιν πολὺ περιῆσαν·
7 πᾶν μὲν γὰρ καὶ πρὸς παντοῖα λέγειν ἐθάρρουν,
οὐδένα λόγον ποιούμενοι τῆς ἀληθείας, τὸ δὲ
λεγόμενον ἀνυπεύθυνον ἦν, οὐκ ἔχον τὸν ἀπο-
8 λογησόμενον. λοιπὸν ἀκονιτὶ τοῦ ψεύδους ἐπι-
κρατοῦντος, ἐδόκει σφίσι τὰ πράγματα κατὰ
γνώμην χωρεῖν.

VI. Res Asiae

11 Ὅτι οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ
(25 2) πλεῖον ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα προσέθηκαν τοῖς
(xxxiii. 12[a]) χρήμασιν, οἷς Ὀροφέρνης ὁ τῆς Καππαδοκίας
βασιλεὺς κατάληπτος γενόμενος ἀπώλετο καὶ τῆς
2 (3) βασιλείας ἐξέπεσεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ συγκεφαλαιωσά-
μενοι τὴν τούτου κάθοδον ἐπανάξομεν τὴν διήγησιν
ἐπὶ τὴν εἰθισμένην τάξιν, ᾗ χρώμεθα παρ' ὅλην
3 (4) τὴν πραγματείαν· καὶ γὰρ νῦν ὑπερβάντες τὰ
κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα προελάβομεν τῶν κατὰ τὴν

Ariarathes, and to accuse the latter with the utmost bitterness. Orophernes too had sent Timotheus and Diogenes as envoys bringing a crown dedicated to Rome and charged to renew the alliance, but chiefly to confront Ariarathes and both to defend themselves and accuse him. In the private interviews Diogenes and Miltiades and their colleagues made a greater impression, being many against one, and having also all the outward appearance of a prosperity that contrasted with the king's distress. They also possessed over him a decided advantage in the statement of their case ; for they had the courage to assert anything and to meet every kind of argument, with an utter disregard for truth, and they took no responsibility for what they said, as there was no one to confute them. So that as falsehood had no trouble in gaining the day, their business seemed to be going on as they wished.

VI. Affairs of Asia

11. Not a few men from lust for gain have sacrificed even their lives for money, among them Orophernes, the king of Cappadocia, who falling a victim to this passion perished himself and lost his kingdom. Now having given this brief account of the restoration of Ariarathes, I shall resume that regular course of my narrative which I follow throughout the whole of this work. For in the present instance, passing over the affairs of Greece, I appended those Asiatic affairs

Ἀσίαν τὰ κατὰ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν
εὔλογον ἔχειν διαίρεσιν τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπό-
πλουν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα κάθοδον [τοῦ]
4 (5) Ἀριαράθου. διόπερ ἐπάνειμι δηλώσων τὰ κατὰ
τὴν Ἑλλάδα γενόμενα περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιρούς.
5 (6) ἐν οἷς ἴδιον καὶ παράλογον πρᾶγμα συνέβη γενέ-
6 (7) σθαι περὶ τὴν τῶν Ὠρωπίων πόλιν· ὑπὲρ οὗ τὰ
μὲν ἀναδραμόντες, τὰ δὲ προλαβόντες τοῖς χρόνοις
συγκεφαλαιωσόμεθα τὴν ὅλην πρᾶξιν, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ
μέρος αὐτῆς οὔσης οὐδ᾽ ὅλως ἐπιφανοῦς ἐν διῃ-
ρημένοις χρόνοις ἀπαγγέλλοντες εὐτελῆ καὶ ἀσαφῆ
7 (8) ποιῶμεν τὴν διήγησιν. ὅταν γὰρ μόλις τὸ ὅλον
ἄξιον ἐπιστάσεως φαίνηται τοῖς ἀκούουσιν, ἦ πού
γε τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἐκ διαστήματος λεγομένοις
τὸν νοῦν προσέξει τις τῶν φιλομαθούντων;

8 (9) Ὅτι κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον <ἐν> ταῖς ἐπιτυχίαις ὡς
ἐπίπαν ἄνθρωποι συμφρονοῦσι, κατὰ δὲ τὰς
ἀποτυχίας ἀσχάλλοντες τοῖς πράγμασιν ἑλκώδεις
9 (10) καὶ δύσκολοι γίνονται πρὸς τοὺς φίλους· ὃ καὶ
περὶ τὸν Ὀροφέρνην συνέβη γενέσθαι, τῶν πραγ-
μάτων αὐτῷ ἀντιπιπτόντων καὶ τῷ Θεοτίμῳ καὶ
μεμφομένων ἀλλήλοις. . . .

10 (1) Ὀροφέρνην . . . ὀλίγον χρόνον Καππαδοκίας
(xxxii. 20) βασιλεύσαντα καὶ παριδόντα τὰς πατρίους ἀγωγάς
φησιν ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ δευτέρᾳ εἰσαγαγεῖν τὴν
Ἰακὴν καὶ τεχνιτικὴν ἀσωτίαν.

12 Ὅτι Ἄτταλος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Εὐμένους παραλαβὼν
(22 8) τὴν ἐξουσίαν πρῶτον ἐξήνεγκε δεῖγμα τῆς αὐτοῦ
(23) προαιρέσεως καὶ πράξεως τὴν Ἀριαράθου κατ-
αγωγὴν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν.

which relate to Cappadocia, as I found no justifiable means of separating the departure of Ariarathes from Italy from his return to power. I will, therefore, now go back to the events that happened in Greece at the same date. Among these that which befell the city of Oropus[a] was especially singular and strange. I will give a succinct account of the whole of this matter, partly recurring to the past and partly anticipating the future, so that, the separate details of it being by no means striking, I may not by relating them under different dates produce a narrative both obscure and insignificant. For when the whole seems scarcely worth close attention what chance is there of any student really making it an object of study when it is told disjointedly under different dates?

For the most part when men are successful they get on well together, but when unsuccessful they get vexed with things and become irritable and fretful with their friends. This was the case with Orophernes when things went against him and Theotimus, and each blamed the other.

(From Athen. x. p. 440 b.)

Polybius says that Orophernes reigned for a short time in Cappadocia, and despising their traditional customs introduced the refined debauchery of Ionia.

12. The first example given by Attalus of his principles and policy after he succeeded his brother Eumenes was to restore Ariarathes to his kingdom.

[a] For some account of this matter see Pausanias vii. 11. 4-7.

VII. Res Italiae

13 (23) (19) Ὅτι τῶν περὶ τὸν Γάιον Φάννιον παραγεγονό-
των ἐκ τῆς Ἰλλυρίδος καὶ διασαφούντων ὅτι
τοσοῦτον ἀπέχοιεν οἱ Δελματεῖς τοῦ διορθοῦσθαί
τι τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων πρὸς τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν φά-
σκοντας ἀδικεῖσθαι συνεχῶς, <ὡς> οὐδὲ λόγον
ἐπιδέχοιντο καθόλου παρ' αὐτῶν, λέγοντες οὐδὲν
2 αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ Ῥωμαίοις κοινόν· πρὸς δὲ τού-
τοις διεσάφουν μή<τε> κατάλυμα δοθῆναι σφίσι
μήτε παροχήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἵππους, οὓς εἶχον
παρ' ἑτέρας πόλεως, ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς Δελματεῖς
3 μετὰ βίας αὐτῶν· ἑτοίμους δ' εἶναι καὶ τὰς χεῖρας
προσάγειν, εἰ μὴ συνείξαντες τῷ καιρῷ μετὰ
4 πολλῆς ἡσυχίας ἐποιήσαντο τὴν ἀπόλυσιν. ὧν
ἡ σύγκλητος ἀκούσασα μετ' ἐπιστάσεως ἠγανάκτει
μὲν καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Δελματέων ἀπειθείᾳ καὶ σκαι-
ότητι, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον ὑπέλαβε τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιτή-
δειον εἶναι πρὸς τὸ πολεμῆσαι τοῖς προειρημένοις
5 διὰ πλείους αἰτίας. τά τε γὰρ μέρη ταῦτα τῆς
Ἰλλυρίδος τὰ νεύοντα πρὸς τὸν Ἀδρίαν ἀνεπί-
6 σκεπτα τελέως ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἐξ οὗ Δημήτριον τὸν
Φάριον ἐξέβαλον, τούς τε κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν
ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐβούλοντο κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον
7 ἀποθηλύνεσθαι διὰ τὴν πολυχρόνιον εἰρήνην· ἔτος
γὰρ ἦν τότε δωδέκατον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Περσέα
8 πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ πράξεων. διόπερ
ἐβουλεύοντο, πόλεμον ἐνστησάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς
προειρημένους ἅμα μὲν ὡσανεὶ καινοποιῆσαι τὰς
ὁρμὰς καὶ προθυμίας τῶν ἰδίων ὄχλων, ἅμα δὲ
καταπληξάμενοι τοὺς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἀναγκάσαι πειθ-
9 αρχεῖν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν παραγγελλομένοις. αὖ-

VII. Affairs of Italy

War with Dalmatia resolved on

13. On the return of Gaius Fannius and the other legates from Illyria, they reported that the Dalmatians were so far from consenting to set right any of the constant abuses complained of by their accusers, that they would not even listen to them, saying they had nothing in common with the Romans. They also reported that they had neither been given a residence nor supplied with food, and that the Dalmatians had even taken away from them by force the horses they had brought from another town, and were ready to lay violent hands on the legates themselves, had they not yielded to circumstances and left quite quietly. The senate heard them with much attention and were highly indignant at the stubbornness and rudeness of the Dalmatians; but their chief motive for action was that for several reasons they thought the time a suitable one for making war on the Dalmatians. For to begin with they had never once set foot in those parts of Illyria which face the Adriatic since they expelled Demetrius of Pharos, and next they did not at all wish the Italians to become effeminate owing to the long peace, it being now twelve years since the war with Perseus and their campaigns in Macedonia. They, therefore, resolved by undertaking a war against the Dalmatians both to recreate, as it were, the spirit and zeal of their own troops, and by striking terror into the Illyrians to compel them to obey their behests. 157–156 B.C.

ται μὲν οὖν ἦσαν αἰτίαι δι' ἃς ἐπολέμησαν Ῥω-
μαῖοι Δελματεῦσι· τοῖς γε μὴν ἐκτὸς τὸν πόλεμον
ἀνεδείκνυον, ὡς διὰ τὴν εἰς τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς
ὕβριν κεκρικότες πολεμεῖν.

14 (26) Κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον παραγεγονότων πρε-
(24) σβευτῶν ἐξ Ἠπείρου παρά τε τῶν τὴν Φοινίκην
κατεχόντων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐκπεπτωκότων καὶ
2 ποιησαμένων λόγους κατὰ πρόσωπον, ἔδωκεν
ἀπόκρισιν αὐτοῖς ἡ σύγκλητος ὅτι δώσει περὶ
τούτων ἐντολὰς τοῖς ἀποστελλομένοις πρεσβευταῖς
εἰς τὴν Ἰλλυρίδα μετὰ Γαΐου Μαρκίου.

VIII. Prusiae Bellum cum Attalo

15 (27) Ὅτι Προυσίας μετὰ τὸ νικῆσαι τὸν Ἄτταλον
(25) μετὰ τὸ παρελθεῖν πρὸς τὸ Πέργαμον παρα-
σκευασάμενος θυσίαν πολυτελῆ προσήγαγε πρὸς
2 τὸ τέμενος τἀσκληπιοῦ, καὶ βουθυτήσας καὶ καλ-
λιερήσας τότε μὲν ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν,
3 κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν καταστήσας τὴν δύναμιν
ἐπὶ τὸ Νικηφόριον τούς τε νεὼς ἅπαντας δι-
έφθειρε καὶ τὰ τεμένη τῶν θεῶν, ἐσύλησε δὲ καὶ
τοὺς ἀνδριάντας καὶ τὰ λίθινα τῶν ἀγαλμάτων.
4 τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον καὶ τὸ τἀσκληπιοῦ βαστάσας
ἄγαλμα, περιττῶς ὑπὸ Φυρομάχου κατεσκευα-
5 σμένον, ἀπήνεγκεν ὡς αὑτόν, ᾧ τῇ πρότερον ἡμέρᾳ
κατασπένδων ἐβουθύτει καὶ κατηύχετο, δεόμενος,
ὅπερ εἰκός, ἵλεων αὑτῷ γενέσθαι καὶ εὐμενῆ κατὰ
6 πάντα τρόπον. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας διαθέσεις
καὶ πρότερον εἴρηκά που, περὶ Φιλίππου ποιού-
7 μενος τὸν λόγον, μανικάς. τὸ γὰρ ἅμα μὲν θύειν
καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐξιλάσκεσθαι τὸ θεῖον, προσ-

These, then, were the reasons why the Romans went to war with the Dalmatians, but to the world at large they gave out that they had decided on war owing to the insult to their ambassadors.

14. At this time envoys came from Epirus both on behalf of those in possession of the city of Phoenice and of the exiled party. After they had spoken in the presence of each other the senate answered that they would give instructions on the subject to the commissioners they were sending to Illyria under Gaius Marcius.

VIII. The War of Prusias with Attalus

15. Prusias on approaching Pergamus after his victory over Attalus prepared a magnificent sacrifice which he brought to the temple of Asclepius, and having offered the oxen and obtained favourable omens, returned on that day to his camp; but on the next day directing his army to the Nicephorium, he destroyed all the temples and sacred precincts of the gods, and carried off the bronze and marble statues; finally removing and carrying off for himself the statue of Asclepius, an admirable work of art by Phyromachus, that very Asclepius to whom on the previous day he had offered libations, sacrifices and prayers, supplicating him of course to be in every way merciful and gracious to him. On a previous occasion, in speaking of Philip, I have described such conduct as that of a madman. For at one and the same time to sacrifice and thus to sue for the favour

κυνοῦντα καὶ λιπαροῦντα τὰς τραπέζας καὶ τοὺς
βωμοὺς ἐξάλλως, ὅπερ ὁ Προυσίας εἴθιστο ποιεῖν
8 γονυπετῶν καὶ γυναικιζόμενος, ἅμα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ
λυμαίνεσθαι καὶ διὰ τῆς τούτων καταφθορᾶς τὴν
εἰς τὸ θεῖον ὕβριν διατίθεσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴποι
τις εἶναι θυμοῦ λυττῶντος ἔργα καὶ ψυχῆς ἐξ-
9 εστηκυίας τῶν λογισμῶν; ὃ καὶ τότε συνέβαινε
γίνεσθαι περὶ τὸν Προυσίαν. ἀνδρὸς μὲν γὰρ
<ἔργον> οὐδὲν ἐπιτελεσάμενος κατὰ τὰς προσ-
βολάς, ἀγεννῶς δὲ καὶ γυναικοθύμως χειρίσας καὶ
τὰ πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους μετήγαγε
10 τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς Ἐλαίαν· καὶ καταπειράσας
τῆς Ἐλαίας καί τινας προσβολὰς ποιησάμενος,
οὐδὲν δὲ πράττειν δυνάμενος διὰ τὸ Σώσανδρον
τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως σύντροφον εἰσεληλυθότα μετὰ
στρατιωτῶν εἴργειν αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπιβολάς, ἀπῆρεν
11 ἐπὶ Θυατείρων. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπάνοδον τὸ τῆς
Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν τῆς ἐν Ἱερᾷ κώμῃ μετὰ βίας
12 ἐσύλησεν. ὁμοίως καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κυννείου Ἀπόλ-
λωνος τέμενος τὸ περὶ Τῆμνον οὐ μόνον ἐσύλησεν,
13 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πυρὶ διέφθειρεν. καὶ ταῦτα δια-
πραξάμενος ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, οὐ μόνον
τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς πεπολεμηκώς.
14 ἐταλαιπώρησε δὲ καὶ τὸ πεζικὸν στράτευμα τῷ
Προυσίᾳ κατὰ τὴν ἐπάνοδον ὑπό τε τοῦ λιμοῦ καὶ
τῆς δυσεντερίας, ὥστε παρὰ πόδας ἐκ θεο-
πέμπτου δοκεῖν ἀπηντῆσθαι μῆνιν αὐτῷ διὰ
ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας. . . .

16 (28) Ὅτι Ἄτταλος ἡττηθεὶς παρὰ Προυσίου, προ-
(26) χειρισάμενος Ἀθήναιον τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐξαπέστειλε
μετὰ τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον, διασαφήσοντα τῇ
2 συγκλήτῳ τὸ γεγονός. οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τοῦ

of the god, worshipping and adoring most devoutly his tables and altars, as Prusias used to do with genuflexions and womanish mummery, and then to spoil these very objects and by their destruction to inflict an outrage on the divinity, cannot be otherwise described than as the act of a man frenzied by passion and with his mind unhinged—as was actually the case with Prusias then. For after doing nothing worthy of a man in his attacks on the town, but behaving in a cowardly and womanish manner both to gods and men, he marched his army back to Elaea. After making an attempt on Elaea and delivering a few assaults, which were quite ineffectual, as Sosander the king's foster-brother had entered the town with some troops and frustrated his attempts, he withdrew to Thyateira, attacking and despoiling on his retreat the temple of Artemis at Hiera Come. Similarly he not only despoiled, but burnt to the ground the sanctuary of Apollo Cynneius near Temnus, and after those exploits returned to his own country, having waged war not only on men but on gods. His infantry also suffered much on the retreat from hunger and dysentery, so that it seemed that the vengeance of heaven visited him instantly for these misdeeds.

16. Attalus, when defeated by Prusias appointed his brother Athenaeus as his envoy and sent him off together with Publius Lentulus to inform the senate of the fact. For in Rome, when Andronicus arrived

μὲν Ἀνδρονίκου παραγενομένου καὶ διασαφοῦντος
3 τὰ περὶ τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον τῶν πολεμίων, οὐ
προσεῖχον, ἀλλ' ὑπενόουν τὸν Ἄτταλον βουλόμενον
αὐτὸν ἐπιβαλεῖν τῷ Προυσίᾳ τὰς χεῖρας προφάσεις
προκατασκευάζεσθαι καὶ προκαταλαμβάνειν δια-
4 βολαῖς· ἅμα δὲ τοῦ τε Νικομήδους καὶ τῶν περὶ
τὸν Ἀντίφιλον, τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Προυσίου πρε-
σβευτῶν, διαμαρτυρομένων μηδὲν εἶναι τούτων, ἔτι
μᾶλλον ἠπιστεῖτο τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ τοῦ Προυσίου.
5 μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον ἐπιδιασαφουμένης τῆς πραγ-
ματείας, ἀμφιδοξήσασα περὶ τῶν προσπιπτόντων
ἡ σύγκλητος ἐξαπέστειλε πρεσβευτὰς Λεύκιον
Ἀπολήιον καὶ Γάιον Πετρώνιον τοὺς ἐπισκεψο-
μένους πῶς ἔχει τὰ κατὰ τοὺς προειρημένους
βασιλεῖς.

and informed them of the first attack by the enemy, they paid no attention to him, but suspected that Attalus, intending himself to attack Prusias, was preparing a pretext and anticipating the protest of Prusias by bringing false accusations against him. And as Nicomedes and the envoy of Prusias Antiphilus assured them that there was no truth in it, they were still less inclined to believe this report about Prusias. But after a short time, when further information to the same effect arrived, the senate, in doubt what to believe, dispatched as legates Lucius Apuleius and Gaius Petronius to inquire into the relations of the two kings.

FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXIII

I. Res Italiae

1 Ὅτι ἡ σύγκλητος ἔτι κατὰ χειμῶνα διακούσασα τῶν περὶ τὸν Πόπλιον Λέντλον ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ Προυσίαν διὰ τὸ νεωστὶ παραγεγονέναι τούτους ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, εἰσεκαλέσατο καὶ τὸν Ἀθήναιον
2 τὸν Ἀττάλου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφόν. οὐ μέντοι πολλῶν προσεδεήθη λόγων, ἀλλ' εὐθέως καταστήσασα πρεσβευτὰς συνεξαπέστελλε τῷ προειρημένῳ τοὺς περὶ Γάιον Κλαύδιον Κέντωνα καὶ Λεύκιον Ὁρτήσιον καὶ Γάιον Αὐρογκολήιον, ἐντολὰς δοῦσα κωλύειν τὸν Προυσίαν Ἀττάλῳ πολεμεῖν.

3 Παρεγένοντο δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πρέσβεις εἰς Ῥώμην ὑπὲρ τῶν κατεχομένων οἱ περὶ Ξένωνα τὸν Αἰγιέα καὶ Τηλεκλέα τὸν Αἰγει-
4 ράτην. ὧν ποιησαμένων λόγους ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ, καὶ τοῦ διαβουλίου προτεθέντος, παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθον ἀπολῦσαι τοὺς κατῃτιαμένους οἱ τοῦ
5 συνεδρίου. τὴν δ' αἰτίαν ἔσχε τοῦ μὴ συντελεσθῆναι τὴν ἀπόλυσιν Αὖλος Ποστόμιος, στρατηγὸς ὢν ἑξαπέλεκυς καὶ βραβεύων τὸ διαβούλιον.

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXIII

I. Affairs of Italy

The War between Prusias and Attalus

1. The senate, while it was still winter, had heard what Publius Lentulus had to report about King Prusias, as this legate had just returned from Asia, and they now summoned also Athenaeus, the brother of King Attalus. They did not, however, require many words from him, but at once appointed Gaius Claudius Cento, Lucius Hortensius, and Gaius Aurunculeius their legates and sent them off in company with Athenaeus with orders to prevent Prusias from making war on Attalus. 156–155 B.C.

Embassy on behalf of the Achaean exiles

There came also to Rome an embassy from the Achaeans consisting of Xenon of Aegium and Telecles of Aegeira on behalf of those in detention. After they had spoken in the senate, upon the matter being put to the vote, the senate came very near setting the suspects free. That their liberation was not carried out was the fault of Aulus Postumius Albinus, at this time praetor and as such presiding

6 τριῶν γὰρ οὐσῶν γνωμῶν, μιᾶς μὲν τῆς ἀφιέναι
κελευούσης, ἑτέρας δὲ τῆς ἐναντίας ταύτης, τρίτης
δὲ τῆς ἀπολύειν μέν, ἐπισχεῖν δὲ κατὰ τὸ παρόν,
7 καὶ πλείστων δ᾽ ὄντων τῶν ἀφιέντων, παρελθὼν
τὴν μίαν γνώμην διηρώτα τὰς δύο καθολικῶς,
οἷς δοκεῖ τοὺς ἀνακεκλημένους ἀφιέναι καὶ τοὐ-
8 ναντίον. λοιπὸν οἱ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἐπέχειν κε-
λεύοντες προσέβησαν πρὸς τοὺς μὴ φάσκοντας
δεῖν ἀπολύειν, καὶ πλείους ἐγενήθησαν τῶν ἀφιέν-
των. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τούτων ἦν.

2 Animadversa tripartita varietas est in tribus
philosophis, quos Athenienses Romam ad senatum
legaverant inpetratum uti multam remitteret, quam
9 fecerat is propter Oropi vastationem. Ea multa
fuerat talentum fere quingentum. Erant isti philo-
sophi Carneades ex Academia, Diogenes Stoicus,
Critolaus Peripateticus. Et in senatum quidem
introducti interprete usi sunt C. Acilio senatore;
sed ante ipsi seorsum quisque ostentandi gratia
10 magno conventu hominum dissertaverunt. Tum
admirationi fuisse aiunt Rutilius et Polybius philo-
sophorum trium sui cuiusque generis facundiam.
" Violenta," inquiunt, " et rapida Carneades dicebat,
scita et teretia Critolaus, modesta Diogenes et
sobria."

3 Ὅτι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης πρεσβευτῶν ἀνα-
(2) καμψάντων εἰς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν καὶ διασαφούντων
ὅτι παρ᾽ ὀλίγον ἔλθοι τὰ πράγματα τοῦ πάντας
2 ἐπανελθεῖν τοὺς κατεχομένους, εὐέλπιδες γενό-

over the senate. For while there were three resolutions, one for their release, another opposed to this, and a third for postponement of the release for the present, the majority being in favour of release, Aulus passing over the third alternative put the question in general terms: "Who is for releasing the men and who against it?" Consequently those who were for delay joined those who were for absolute refusal, and thus gave a majority against release. Such were these events.

Embassy from Athens

(From Aulus Gellius, *N.A.* vi. (vii.) 14. 8–10.)

2. A difference was noticed in the three philosophers whom the Athenians sent to Rome as their envoys to the senate, to obtain the remission of the fine imposed by the latter for the pillage of Oropus. It was a fine of about five hundred talents. The philosophers were Carneades of the Academy, Diogenes the Stoic, and Critolaus the Peripatetic. When introduced into the senate they employed the senator Gaius Acilius as their interpreter, but each of them had previously spoken before huge crowds to exhibit their skill. Rutilius and Polybius tell us that in each philosopher a different kind of eloquence was admired. "Carneades," they say, "spoke vehemently and rapidly, Critolaus with skill and smoothness, and Diogenes with sobriety and modesty."

The Achaean exiles

3. When the envoys from Rome returned to Achaea and reported that all those in detention had been very nearly returning, the people became

μενοι καὶ μετεωρισθέντες οἱ πολλοὶ πάλιν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔπεμπον Τηλεκλέα <καὶ> τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην Ἀναξίδαμον. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Πελοπόννησον ἐπὶ τούτων ἦν.

II. Res Rhodiorum

4 Ὅτι Ἀριστοκράτης ὁ τῶν Ῥοδίων στρατηγὸς
(9) ἦν μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν ἀξιωματικὸς καὶ
2 καταπληκτικός. διόπερ ἐκ πάντων τοῦτον ὑπ-
έλαβον οἱ Ῥόδιοι τελέως ἀξιόχρεων ἡγεμόνα καὶ
3 προστάτην ἔχειν τοῦ πολέμου. διεψεύσθησαν μέν-
τοι γε τῶν ἐλπίδων· ἐλθὼν γὰρ εἰς τὰς πράξεις
ὥσπερ εἰς πῦρ, καθάπερ τὰ κίβδηλα τῶν νομι-
4 σμάτων, ἀλλοῖος ἐφάνη. τοῦτο δ' ἐγένετο δῆλον
ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων.

III. Res Cypri

5 . . . προτείνειν αὐτῷ πεντακόσια τάλαντα παρα-
(3) χωρήσαντι τῆς Κύπρου, καὶ τἄλλα συνακολου-
θήσοντα λυσιτελῆ καὶ τίμια παρ' αὐτῷ συνεπι-
δεικνύειν, προσενεγκαμένῳ τὴν χρείαν ταύτην.
2a Τῷ δὲ Πτολεμαίῳ γενομένης προσαγγελίας
παρεῖναι τὸν Ἀρχίαν . . .
2 Ὅτι Ἀρχίας βουλόμενος τὴν Κύπρον προδοῦναι
τῷ Δημητρίῳ καὶ φωραθεὶς καὶ εἰς κρίσιν ἀχθεὶς
καλῳδίῳ τῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐλαίας παραπεπετασμένων
3 ἑαυτὸν ἀπεκρέμασεν. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι διὰ τὰς

hopeful and elated and at once sent off Telecles and Anaxidamus of Megalopolis on another embassy. Such was the state of matters in Peloponnesus.

II. Affairs of Rhodes

4. Aristocrates, the Rhodian general, was dignified and imposing in appearance, and from all this the Rhodians imagined that they had a perfectly capable commander and director of the war. But they were deceived in their hopes. For when he came to be tested by action, like base coin tried by fire, he turned out quite otherwise, as was shown by actual facts.

III. Affairs of Cyprus

(Suidas.)

5. Demetrius offered Archias[a] five hundred talents if he gave up Cyprus, and pointed out to him the other advantages and honours that would accrue to him if he rendered him this service

(Suidas.)

When news reached Ptolemy that Archias had arrived . . .

(Cp. Suidas.)

Archias purposed to betray Cyprus to Demetrius, but when detected and prosecuted he hanged himself by a rope taken from the curtain of the entrance door. So true is it that owing to covetousness "vain

[a] The governor of Cyprus under Ptolemy.

ἐπιθυμίας κενοὶ κενὰ λογίζονται κατὰ τὴν παροι-
4 μίαν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος δόξας πεντακόσια τάλαντα προσλήψεσθαι καὶ τὰ προϋπάρχοντα χρήματα καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα προσαπέβαλεν.

IV. Res Ariarathis

6 Ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς τούτους καὶ Πριηνεῖς
(12) 2 ἐνέπεσον παραλόγῳ συμφορᾷ. δεξάμενοι γὰρ παρ' Ὀροφέρνους, ὅτ' ἐκράτησε τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐν παραθήκῃ τετρακόσια τάλαντα ἀπῃτοῦντο κατὰ τοὺς ἑξῆς χρόνους ὑπ' Ἀριαράθου, ὅτε μετέλαβε
3 τὴν ἀρχήν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Πριηνεῖς, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, ὀρθῶς ἵσταντο, φάσκοντες μηδενὶ προήσεσθαι τὰ χρήματα ζῶντος Ὀροφέρνους πλὴν αὐτῷ τῷ
4 παραθεμένῳ· ὁ δ' Ἀριαράθης πολλοῖς ἐδόκει παραπίπτειν τοῦ καθήκοντος, ἀπαιτῶν τὴν ἀλλο-
5 τρίαν παραθήκην. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἕως μὲν τούτου τάχ' ἄν τις ἔχοι συγγνώμην αὐτῷ καταπειράζοντι τῷ δοκεῖν τῆς ἐκείνου βασιλείας εἶναι τὰ χρήματα· τὸ δὲ καὶ πορρωτέρω προβαίνειν ὀργῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας οὐδαμῶς ἐδόκει γενέσθαι κατὰ λόγον.
6 κατὰ δὲ τοὺς νῦν λεγομένους καιροὺς ἐπαποστείλας ἐλεηλάτει τὴν χώραν τῶν Πριηνέων, συνεργοῦντος Ἀττάλου καὶ παροξύνοντος αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν
7 διαφοράν, ἣν εἶχε πρὸς τοὺς Πριηνεῖς. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ σωμάτων καὶ θρεμμάτων ἀπολομένων καὶ πρὸς τῇ πόλει πτωμάτων γενομένων, ἀμύνασθαι μὲν οὐχ οἷοί τ' ἦσαν οἱ Πριηνεῖς, ἐπρέσβευον δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ῥοδίους, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους
8 κατέφυγον. οἱ δ' οὐ προσεῖχον τοῖς λεγομένοις. καὶ Πριηνεῖς μὲν μεγάλας ἔχοντες ἐλπίδας

heads make vain plans," as the proverb says. For thinking to gain five hundred talents he lost both all the money he had and his life into the bargain.

IV. Affairs of Ariarathes

6. At about this time an unexpected disaster overtook the people of Priene. For having received from Orophernes when he was in power four hundred talents as a deposit, they were asked subsequently to return it by Ariarathes when he recovered his kingdom. Now the position of the Prienians in my opinion was correct, when they refused to give up the money to anyone except the depositor during the lifetime of Orophernes, and Ariarathes was thought by many to have exceeded his rights in demanding the return of a deposit not his own. One might, however, pardon him to a certain extent for this attempt, on the ground that the money as he thought belonged to his kingdom; but his conduct in proceeding to extreme measures dictated by anger and determination to enforce his will cannot, I think, be justified. At the time I am speaking of he sent a force to devastate the territory of Priene, helped and encouraged by Attalus owing to that prince's own quarrel with Priene. After the loss of many slaves and cattle and when some buildings were laid in ruins close to the city, the Prienians proved unable to defend themselves, and having in the first place sent an embassy to Rhodes appealed to the Romans, who paid no attention to their demand. The Prienians had based high hopes on

ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν χρημάτων τοῖς ἐναντίοις
9 ἐνεκύρησαν· τῷ μὲν γὰρ Ὀροφέρνει τὴν παρα-
θήκην ἀπέδωκαν, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀρια-
ράθου ἱκαναῖς τισι βλάβαις περιέπεσον ἀδίκως
διὰ τὴν παραθήκην.

V. Res Italiae

7 (9) Ὅτι τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὁρτήσιον καὶ Αὐρογκο-
(6) λήιον παραγεγονότων ἐκ τοῦ Περγάμου καὶ δια-
σαφούντων τήν τε τοῦ Προυσίου καταφρόνησιν
2 τῶν τῆς συγκλήτου παραγγελμάτων, καὶ διότι
παρασπονδήσας καὶ συγκλείσας εἰς τὸ Πέργαμον
αὐτούς τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἄτταλον πᾶσαν
3 βίαν ἐνεδείξατο καὶ παρανομίαν, ἡ σύγκλητος
ὀργισθεῖσα καὶ βαρέως φέρουσα τὸ γεγονὸς ἐξ
αὑτῆς δέκα πρεσβευτὰς κατέστησε τοὺς περὶ
Λεύκιον Ἀνίκιον καὶ Γάιον Φάννιον καὶ Κόιντον
4 Φάβιον Μάξιμον, καὶ παραχρῆμ' ἐξαπέστειλεν,
ἐντολὰς αὐτοῖς δοῦσα διαλῦσαι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ
τὸν Προυσίαν ἀναγκάσαι δίκας ὑποσχεῖν Ἀττάλῳ
τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἀδικημάτων.

8 (7) Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν ἧκον <πρεσβευταὶ>
(4) 2 καὶ παρὰ Μασσαλιητῶν, <οἳ> πάλαι μὲν κακῶς
πάσχοντες ὑπὸ τῶν Λιγυστίνων, τότε δὲ συγ-
κλειόμενοι τελέως, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ πολιορ-
κουμένων τῶν πόλεων Ἀντιπόλεως καὶ Νικαίας,
ἐξαπέστειλαν πρεσβευτὰς εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τοὺς
τά τε γινόμενα διασαφήσοντας καὶ δεησομένους
3 σφίσι βοηθεῖν. ὧν καὶ παρελθόντων εἰς τὴν
σύγκλητον, ἔδοξε τῷ συνεδρίῳ πρεσβευτὰς πέμψαι

their command of so large a sum but the result was just the opposite. For they paid the deposit back to Orophernes, and unjustly suffered considerable damage at the hands of King Ariarathes owing to this same deposit.

V. Affairs of Italy

Attalus and Prusias

7. On Hortensius and Aurunculeius returning 155–154 B.C.
from Pergamus and reporting how Prusias had treated the orders of the senate with scorn, and how by treachery he had shut them and Attalus up in Pergamus and been guilty of every kind of violence and lawlessness, the senate was very indignant and deeply aggrieved at his conduct, and at once appointed ten legates headed by Lucius Anicius, Gaius Fannius, and Quintus Fabius Maximus, whom they dispatched promptly with orders to put a stop to the war and compel Prusias to make amends to Attalus for the wrongs he had inflicted on him during the war.

Ligurian War

8. At about the same time envoys also arrived from the people of Marseilles, who had for long suffered from the incursions of the Ligurians, and were now entirely hemmed in, the cities of Antibes and Nice being besieged as well. They therefore sent envoys to Rome to inform the senate of this and beg for help. Upon their coming before the senate, it was decided to send legates to witness with

τοὺς ἅμα μὲν αὐτόπτας ἐσομένους τῶν γινομένων,
ἅμα δὲ πειρασομένους λόγῳ διορθώσασθαι τῶν
βαρβάρων τὴν ἄγνοιαν.
9 (10) Ὅτι τῶν Μασσαλιητῶν διαπρεσβευσαμένων πρὸς
(7) Ῥωμαίους κακῶς πάσχειν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν Λι-
γυστίνων, παραχρῆμα κατέστησαν Φλαμίνιον καὶ
Ποπίλιον Λαινᾶτον καὶ Λεύκιον Πόπιον πρε-
2 σβευτάς. οἳ καὶ πλέοντες μετὰ τῶν Μασσα-
λιητῶν προσέσχον τῆς Ὀξυβίων χώρας κατὰ
3 πόλιν Αἴγιτναν. οἱ δὲ Λιγυστῖνοι προακηκοότες
ὅτι πάρεισιν ἐπιτάξοντες αὐτοῖς λύειν τὴν πο-
λιορκίαν, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔτι καθορμιζομένους
4 ἐπελθόντες ἐκώλυσαν τῆς ἀποβάσεως, τὸν δὲ
Φλαμίνιον καταλαβόντες ἀποβεβηκότα καὶ τὰς
ἀποσκευὰς ἀποτεθειμένον, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ἐκέ-
λευον αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπολύεσθαι, τοῦ δὲ
5 παρακούοντος ἤρξαντο τὰ σκεύη διαρπάζειν. τῶν
δὲ παίδων καὶ τῶν ἀπελευθέρων ἀντιποιουμένων
καὶ κωλυόντων, ἀπεβιάζοντο καὶ προσέφερον τού-
6 τοις τὰς χεῖρας. ἐν ᾧ καιρῷ καὶ τοῦ Φλαμινίου
βοηθοῦντος τοῖς ἰδίοις, τοῦτον μὲν κατέτρωσαν,
δύο δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν κατέβαλον, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς
κατεδίωξαν εἰς τὴν ναῦν, ὡς τὸν Φλαμίνιον μόγις
ἀποκόψαντα τἀπίγυα καὶ τὰς ἀγκύρας διαφυγεῖν
7 τὸν κίνδυνον. οὗτος μὲν ἀποκομισθεὶς εἰς Μασ-
8 σαλίαν ἐθεραπεύετο μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας· ἡ
δὲ σύγκλητος πυθομένη τὰ γεγονότα παραχρῆμα
τὸν ἕνα τῶν ὑπάτων Κόιντον Ὀπίμιον ἐξαπέστελλε
μετὰ δυνάμεως πολεμήσοντα τοῖς Ὀξυβίοις καὶ
Δεκιήταις.
10 (11) Ὁ δὲ Κόιντος συναθροίσας τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς
(8) τὴν τῶν Πλακεντίνων πόλιν καὶ ποιησάμενος

their own eyes what was happening, and to attempt by remonstrances to correct the misconduct of the barbarians.

9. Upon the Massaliots sending an embassy to Rome to complain of the conduct of the Ligurians, the senate at once appointed as their legates Flaminius Popilius Laenas and Lucius Pupius. Accompanying the Massaliots they put in to a town called Aegitna in the territory of the Oxybii. The Ligurians on hearing that they were coming to order them to raise the siege, prevented the others who were bringing their ship to anchor from disembarking, but finding that Flaminius was already on shore and had stowed away his baggage, they at first ordered him to quit the place, and, when he refused, began to pillage his things. When his slaves and freedmen tried to get hold of the things and prevent their seizure they forced them away and attacked them; and when Flaminius now came up to the help of his own people, they wounded him, struck down two of his servants, and chased the others on board, so that Flaminius only just managed by cutting the shore and anchor cables to escape from the danger. He was carried back to Marseilles, and nursed there with every attention; and the senate on hearing of the incident dispatched one of the consuls, Quintus Opimius, with an armed force to make war on the Oxybii and Decietae.

10. Opimius collected his forces at Piacenza, and

τὴν πορείαν διὰ τῶν Ἀπεννίνων ὀρῶν ἧκεν εἰς
2 τοὺς Ὀξυβίους. στρατοπεδεύσας δὲ παρὰ τὸν
Ἄπρωνα ποταμὸν ἀνεδέχετο τοὺς πολεμίους,
πυνθανόμενος αὐτοὺς ἁθροίζεσθαι καὶ προθύμους
3 εἶναι πρὸς τὸ διακινδυνεύειν. καὶ προσαγαγὼν
τὴν στρατιὰν ὁ Κόιντος πρὸς τὴν Αἴγιτναν, ἐν
ᾗ συνέβη τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς παρασπονδηθῆναι, τὴν
πόλιν κατὰ κράτος ἑλὼν ἐξηνδραποδίσατο καὶ
τοὺς ἀρχηγοὺς τῆς ὕβρεως ἀπέστειλε δεσμίους
4 εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην. καὶ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενος ἀπ-
5 ήντα τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἱ δ' Ὀξύβιοι νομίζοντες
ἀπαραίτητον αὑτοῖς εἶναι τὴν εἰς τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς
ἁμαρτίαν, παραλόγῳ τινὶ χρησάμενοι θυμῷ καὶ
λαβόντες ὁρμὴν παραστατικήν, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς Δεκιή-
τας αὐτοῖς συμμῖξαι, περὶ τετρακισχιλίους ἁθροι-
6 σθέντες ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. ὁ δὲ
Κόιντος ἰδὼν τὴν ἔφοδον καὶ τὸ θράσος τῶν
βαρβάρων τὴν μὲν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτῶν κατεπλάγη,
θεωρῶν δὲ μηδενὶ λόγῳ ταύτῃ χρωμένους τοὺς
ἐχθροὺς εὐθαρσὴς ἦν, ἅτε τριβὴν ἐν πράγμασιν
ἔχων καὶ τῇ φύσει διαφερόντως ἀγχίνους ὑπ-
7 άρχων. διόπερ ἐξαγαγὼν τὴν αὑτοῦ στρατιὰν
καὶ παρακαλέσας τὰ πρέποντα τοῖς καιροῖς ᾔει
8 βάδην ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. χρησάμενος δὲ
συντόνῳ προσβολῇ ταχέως ἐνίκησε τοὺς ἀντι-
ταξαμένους καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν,
τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἠνάγκασε φυγεῖν προτροπάδην.
9 οἱ δὲ Δεκιῆται <συν>ηθροισμένοι παρῆσαν, ὡς
μεθέξοντες τοῖς Ὀξυβίοις τῶν αὐτῶν κινδύνων·
10 ὑστερήσαντες δὲ τῆς μάχης τούς τε φεύγοντας ἐξελέ-
ξαντο καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον συνέβαλον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις
11 μετὰ μεγάλης ὁρμῆς καὶ προθυμίας. ἡττηθέν-

marching across the Apennines reached the country of the Oxybii. Encamping beside the river Apro he waited for the enemy, hearing that they were collecting and were ready to give battle. Then leading his army to Aegitna, the town in which the legates had been treacherously attacked, he took it by assault, sold the inhabitants into slavery, and sent the ringleaders of the outrage in chains to Rome. After this success he went to meet the enemy. The Oxybii, thinking that their offence against the legates was inexpiable, showed extraordinary spirit, and with frenzied eagerness for the fray, before being joined by the Decietae, collected a force of about four thousand men and threw themselves on the enemy. Opimius, seeing the barbarians attack him so boldly, was amazed at their desperate courage; but knowing that they had no good grounds for this display of valour, felt full of confidence, as he was a practised commander and exceedingly intelligent. Therefore, leading out his army and exhorting them in terms suitable to the occasion, he advanced slowly to meet the enemy. Pressing home his attack vigorously he soon got the better of his adversaries, slew many of them and forced the others to headlong flight. The Decietae now arrived in full force, thinking that they would take part in the battle side by side with the Oxybii, but arriving after all was over, received the fugitives into their ranks; they shortly afterwards attacked the Romans with great spirit and resolution, but when worsted in the fight

τες δὲ τῇ μάχῃ παραυτίκα πάντες παρέδωκαν
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίων
12 πίστιν. ὁ δὲ Κόιντος κύριος γενόμενος τούτων
τῶν ἐθνῶν παραυτίκα μὲν τῆς χώρας ὅσην ἐν-
εδέχετο προσέθηκε τοῖς Μασσαλιήταις, εἰς δὲ
τὸ μέλλον ὅμηρα τοὺς Λιγυστίνους ἠνάγκασε
διδόναι κατά τινας τακτοὺς χρόνους τοῖς Μασσα-
13 λιήταις· αὐτὸς δὲ παροπλίσας τοὺς ἀντιταξα-
μένους καὶ <δι>ελὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις
14 αὐτοῦ τὴν παραχειμασίαν ἐποιήσατο. καὶ ταῦτα
μὲν ὀξεῖαν ἔλαβε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν συν-
τέλειαν.

11 (8) Ὅτι κατὰ τοὺς καιρούς, καθ᾽ οὓς ἐξέπεμψεν
(5) ἡ σύγκλητος τὸν Ὀπίμιον ἐπὶ τὸν τῶν Ὀξυβίων
πόλεμον, ἧκε Πτολεμαῖος ὁ νεώτερος εἰς τὴν
2 Ῥώμην, καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ἐποιεῖτο
κατηγορίαν τἀδελφοῦ, φέρων τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς
3 ἐπιβουλῆς ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνον. ἅμα δὲ τὰς ἐκ τῶν
τραυμάτων οὐλὰς ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν δεικνὺς καὶ τὴν
λοιπὴν δεινολογίαν ἀκόλουθον τούτοις διατιθέ-
μενος ἐξεκαλεῖτο τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς ἔλεον.
4 ἧκον δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου πρέσβεις οἱ
περὶ τὸν Νεολαΐδαν καὶ Ἀνδρόμαχον, ἀπολογού-
μενοι πρὸς τὰς ὑπὸ τἀδελφοῦ γενομένας κατ-
5 ηγορίας. ὧν ἡ σύγκλητος οὐδ᾽ ἀνέχεσθαι δι-
καιολογουμένων ἠβουλήθη, προκατειλημμένη ταῖς
ὑπὸ τοῦ νεωτέρου διαβολαῖς· ἀλλὰ τούτοις μὲν
ἐπανάγειν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης προσέταξεν ἐξ αὐτῆς,
6 τῷ δὲ νεωτέρῳ πέντε πρεσβευτὰς καταστήσασα
τοὺς περὶ Γνάιον Μερόλαν καὶ Λεύκιον Θέρμον
καὶ πεντήρη δοῦσα τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἑκάστῳ,
τούτοις μὲν παρήγγειλε κατάγειν Πτολεμαῖον

at once unconditionally surrendered themselves and their city. Opimius having overcome these tribes added as much of their territory as he thought fit to that of Marseilles, and compelled the Ligurians to give the Massaliots in future hostages for certain periods. He himself, after disarming his adversaries and distributing his forces among the different cities, went into winter quarters in Liguria. This campaign, then, both began and ended rapidly.

The Rival Ptolemies

11. At the time when the senate dispatched Opimius to make war on the Oxybii the younger Ptolemy came to Rome and appearing before the senate accused his brother, asserting that he was responsible for the plot against himself. Exhibiting the scars left by his wounds, and laying full stress besides in his speech on the atrocity of the deed, he pleaded for pity. Neolaïdes and Andromachus also came as envoys from the elder king to defend him against these accusations, but the senate would not even listen to their defence, so much were they prepossessed by the younger brother's charges. Ordering these envoys to leave Rome at once, they appointed five legates, headed by Gnaeus Merula and Lucius Thermus, to support the younger brother, and furnishing each of them with a quinquereme ordered them to re-establish Ptolemy in Cyprus,

7 εἰς Κύπρον, τοῖς δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν συμμάχοις ἔγραψαν ἐξεῖναι συμπράττειν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ τὰ κατὰ τὴν κάθοδον.

VI. Res Pergami

12 (10) Ὅτι κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἄτταλος ἔτι κατὰ χειμῶνα συνήθροιζε μεγάλας δυνάμεις, ἅτε καὶ τῶν περὶ <τὸν> Ἀριαράθην καὶ τὸν Μιθριδάτην ἐξαπεσταλκότων αὐτῷ στρατιὰν ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Δημήτριος Ἀρια-
2 ράθου. ὄντος δὲ περὶ ταύτας αὐτοῦ τὰς κατασκευάς, ἧκον ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης οἱ δέκα πρέσβεις, οἳ καὶ συμμίξαντες αὐτῷ περὶ Κάδους καὶ κοινολογηθέντες περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὥρμησαν πρὸς
3 τὸν Προυσίαν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνέμιξαν, διεσάφουν αὐτῷ τὰ παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου μετὰ πολλῆς ἀνα-
4 τάσεως. ὁ δὲ Προυσίας ἔνια μὲν τῶν προσταττομένων προσεδέχετο, τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις ἀντέλεγε.
5 διόπερ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προσκόψαντες αὐτῷ τήν τε φιλίαν ἀπείπαντο καὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν, καὶ πάντες ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀπηλλάττοντο πάλιν ὡς τὸν Ἄτταλον.
6 ὁ δὲ Προυσίας μετανοήσας μέχρι μέν τινος ἐπηκολούθει λιπαρῶν, ἐπεὶ δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἤνυεν, ἀπαλλα-
7 γεὶς ἐν ἀμηχανίαις ἦν. οἱ δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν μὲν Ἄτταλον ἐκέλευον προκαθίσαντα τῆς αὑτοῦ χώρας μετὰ δυνάμεως αὐτὸν μὲν μὴ κατάρχειν τοῦ πολέμου, ταῖς δὲ πόλεσι ταῖς αὑτοῦ καὶ ταῖς
8 κώμαις τὴν ἀσφάλειαν παρασκευάζειν· αὐτοὶ δὲ μερίσαντες σφᾶς αὐτούς, οἱ μὲν ἔπλεον κατὰ σπουδὴν ἀπαγγελοῦντες τῇ συγκλήτῳ τὴν ἀπείθειαν τοῦ Προυσίου, τινὲς δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰωνίας

writing to their allies in Greece and Asia to the effect that they had their permission to assist his return.

VI. Affairs of Pergamus

12. In Asia Attalus began as early as the winter to collect large forces, Ariarathes and Mithridates having sent him under the terms of their alliance an army consisting of cavalry and infantry under the command of Demetrius, the son of Ariarathes. While he was occupied in these preparations, the ten legates arrived from Rome. After meeting him near Cadi and conversing about the situation they left to visit Prusias, and when they met him, delivered the message from the senate in a very threatening manner. Prusias yielded to some of the commands, but resisted most of them. Consequently the Romans broke with him, renouncing their friendship and alliance, and all of them left on the spot to join Attalus. Prusias now thought better of it, and followed them for some distance entreating them, but when this had no effect, he left them and was now at a loss what to do. The legates ordered Attalus to protect his frontiers with an army and not to open hostilities himself, but to place his towns and villages in safety. They now separated, and while some of them left in haste to announce to the senate the contumacy of Prusias, others went to different parts

ἐχωρίσθησαν, ἕτεροι δ' ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ
τῶν κατὰ τὸ Βυζάντιον τόπων, μίαν ἔχοντες καὶ
9 τὴν αὐτὴν πρόθεσιν ἅπαντες, ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Πρου-
σίου φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας ἀποκαλεῖν τοὺς ἀν-
θρώπους, Ἀττάλῳ δὲ προσνέμειν τὴν εὔνοιαν
καὶ συμμαχεῖν κατὰ δύναμιν.
13 Κατὰ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς Ἀθήναιος κατ-
(11) έπλευσε ναυσὶ καταφράκτοις ὀγδοήκοντα· ὧν
2 αἱ πέντε μὲν τετρήρεις ἦσαν Ῥοδίων τῶν ἀπο-
σταλεισῶν εἰς τὸν Κρητικὸν πόλεμον, εἴκοσι δὲ
Κυζικηνῶν, ἑπτὰ δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς εἴκοσι τῶν περὶ
τὸν Ἄτταλον, αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων.
3 ποιησάμενος δὲ τὸν πλοῦν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ
συνάψας ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ὑπὸ Προυσίαν ταττο-
μέναις ἀποβάσεις τε συνεχεῖς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ κακῶς
4 διετίθει τὴν χώραν. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος διακού-
σασα τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Προυσίου πρεσβευτῶν ἀνα-
κεχωρηκότων ἐξ αὐτῆς τρεῖς ἄλλους ἀπέστειλεν,
Ἄππιόν τε τὸν Κλαύδιον καὶ Λεύκιον Ὄππιον
5 καὶ Αὖλον Ποστόμιον. οἳ καὶ παραγενόμενοι
πρὸς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέλυσαν τὸν πόλεμον, εἰς τὰς
τοιαύτας συνθήκας ἐπαγαγόμενοι τοὺς βασιλέας
6 ἀμφοτέρους, ὥστε παραχρῆμα μὲν εἴκοσι κατα-
φράκτους νῆας ἀποδοῦναι Προυσίαν Ἀττάλῳ,
πεντακόσια δὲ τάλαντα κατενεγκεῖν <ἐν> ἔτεσιν
7 εἴκοσι· τὴν δὲ χώραν ἀμφοτέρους ἔχειν ἣν καὶ
πρότερον εἶχον, ὅτ' εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἐνέβαινον.
8 διορθώσασθαι δὲ Προυσίαν καὶ τὴν καταφθορὰν
τῆς χώρας τῆς τε Μηθυμναίων καὶ τῶν Αἰγαιέων
καὶ τῆς Κυμαίων καὶ Ἡρακλειωτῶν, ἑκατὸν
9 τάλαντα δόντα τοῖς προειρημένοις· γραφεισῶν

of Ionia and others to the country near the Hellespont and Byzantium, all with one and the same project, that is to call on the inhabitants to desert the alliance of Prusias and, as far as lay in their power, to favour the cause of Attalus and cultivate his alliance.

13. At about the same time Athenaeus arrived with eighty decked ships of which five were Rhodian quadriremes from the fleet that had been sent to the Cretan war, twenty were Cyzicene, twenty-seven belonged to Attalus, and the rest to the other allies. Sailing to the Hellespont and approaching the cities which owed allegiance to Prusias he made frequent landings and inflicted damage on their territory. The senate, after hearing the report of the legates who had returned from Prusias, at once dispatched three others, Appius Claudius, Lucius Oppius, and Aulus Postumius, who on reaching Asia put an end to the war, inducing both kings to make a treaty, by the terms of which Prusias was to hand over at once twenty decked ships to Attalus, and to pay him five hundred talents in twenty years, each keeping the territory that was theirs before they entered on hostilities. Prusias also undertook to repair the damage he had done to the territory of Methymna, Aegae, Cyme, and Heracleia, paying a hundred talents to those cities. The treaty having been

δ' ἐ<πὶ> τούτοις τῶν συνθηκῶν, ἀπῆγον τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἄτταλον,
10 τὰς ναυτικὰς καὶ τὰς πεζικάς. καὶ τῆς μὲν Ἀττάλου καὶ Προυσίου διαφορᾶς τοιοῦτος ὅ τε κατὰ μέρος χειρισμὸς ἐγενήθη τῶν πράξεων . . .

VII. Res Italiae

14 (13) Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀχαΐας πρεσβευτῶν εἰσελθόντων εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον περὶ τῶν ἀνακεκλημένων, ἔδοξε τῷ συνεδρίῳ μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων.

15 (14) Ὅτι ὁ Ἡρακλείδης ἔτι τῆς θερείας ἀκμαζούσης παρῆν εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην ἄγων τὴν Λαοδίκην καὶ
2 τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ποιούμενος δὲ τὴν παρεπιδημίαν μετὰ τερατείας ἅμα καὶ κακουργίας ἐνεχρόνιζε, κατασκευαζόμενος τὰ περὶ τὴν σύγκλητον.

3 Καὶ Ἀστυμήδης ὁ Ῥόδιος, πρεσβευτὴς ἅμα καὶ ναύαρχος καθεσταμένος, παρελθὼν ἐξ αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον διελέγετο περὶ τοῦ πολέμου
4 τοῦ πρὸς Κρηταιεῖς. ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος προσέχουσα τὸν νοῦν ἐπιμελῶς παραχρῆμα πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαπέστειλε τοὺς περὶ Κόιντον λύσοντας τὸν πόλεμον.

VIII. Bellum Rhodiorum cum Cretensibus

16 (15) Ὅτι κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον οἱ Κρηταιεῖς πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς Ἀχαιοὺς ὑπὲρ βοηθείας <τοὺς περὶ> Ἀντιφάταν Τηλεμνάστου Γορτύνιον,

drawn up on these terms, Attalus withdrew his forces both military and naval to his own country. Such were the incidents in the quarrel between Attalus and Prusias and such was its end. . . .

VII. Affairs of Italy

The Achaean exiles

14. At Rome during this year when the envoys from Achaea appeared before the senate to plead for the Achaeans in detention it was decided to make no change. 154-153 B.C.

15. Heracleides at the height of summer came to Rome bringing Laodice and Alexander.[a] He made a long stay there, trying by means of jugglery and base intrigue to work upon the senate.

Astymedes of Rhodes, who held the two posts of admiral and envoy, came at once on his arrival before the senate and spoke about their war with the Cretans. The senate after listening to him with attention instantly sent a commission under Quintus to put an end to the war.

VIII. The War between Rhodes and Crete

16. At this time the Cretans sent to the Achaeans as their envoy Antiphatas, the son of Telemnastus

[a] Alexander Balas, a pretended son of Antiochus Epiphanes.

παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ Ῥόδιοι τοὺς περὶ Θεοφάνην.
2 οὔσης δὲ τῆς συνόδου τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐν Κορίνθῳ, καὶ διαλεγομένων τῶν πρεσβευτῶν ἑκατέρων ὑπὲρ τῆς βοηθείας, ἔρρεπον ταῖς γνώμαις οἱ πολλοὶ
3 μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ῥοδίους, ἐντρεπόμενοι καὶ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν ὅλην αἵρεσιν τῆς
4 πολιτείας καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν. εἰς ἃ βλέπων Ἀντιφάτας ἐβουλήθη πάλιν ἐπεισελθεῖν, τοῦ δὲ στρατηγοῦ συγχωρήσαντος ἐχρήσατο λόγοις βαρυ-
5 τέροις ἢ κατὰ Κρῆτα καὶ σπουδαιοτέροις· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὁ νεανίσκος οὐδαμῶς Κρητικός, ἀλλὰ
6 πεφευγὼς τὴν Κρητικὴν ἀναγωγίαν. διὸ καὶ συνέβαινε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὴν παρρησίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ μᾶλλον ἔτι διὰ <τὸ> τὸν πατέρα τοῦ προειρημένου Τηλέμναστον μετὰ πεντακοσίων Κρητῶν ἐλθόντα συμπεπολεμηκέναι τὸν πρὸς Νάβιν
7 πόλεμον εὐγενῶς αὐτοῖς. πλὴν διακούσαντες οὐδὲν ἧττον ὁρμὴν εἶχον οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις βοηθεῖν, ἕως Καλλικράτης ὁ Λεοντήσιος ἀναστὰς οὐκ ἔφη δεῖν οὔτε πολεμεῖν οὐδενὶ χωρὶς τῆς Ῥωμαίων γνώμης οὔτε βοήθειαν πέμπειν
8 οὐδενὶ κατ᾿ οὐδενός. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα κατίσχυσε μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποκειμένων.

17 Ὅτι οἱ Ῥόδιοι δυσθετούμενοι τοῖς συμβαί-
(15[a]) νουσιν εἰς παραλόγους τινὰς ἐνέπεσαν ὁρμὰς καὶ παρασκευὰς καὶ πρὸς παραπλησίαν διάθεσιν ἦλθον τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πολυχρονίοις ἀρρωστίαις δυσποτμοῦσι.
2 καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι πολλάκις, ἐπειδὰν πάντα ποιοῦντες κατὰ λόγον τῆς θεραπείας καὶ πειθαρχοῦντες τοῖς ἰατροῖς μὴ δύνωνται τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον προκοπῆς ἅψασθαι, δυσθετούμενοι τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν ἀποδυσπετεῖν ἀναγκάζονται, καὶ τινὲς

of Gortyna, and the Rhodians sent Theophanes, each begging for help. The Achaean assembly was sitting at Corinth, and when both envoys addressed them on the subject, the majority were more favourably inclined to the Rhodians out of respect for the dignity of that city and the character in general of the Rhodian state and its citizens. Antiphatas, noticing this, expressed a wish to address them a second time, and on receiving the permission of the strategus did so in terms more weighty and serious than is usual with a Cretan. For, as a fact, this young man was not at all Cretan in character but had escaped the contagion of Cretan ill-breeding. The Achaeans in consequence put up with his freedom of speech, and still more because his father Telemnastus had come with five hundred Cretans to help them in their war against Nabis, and had borne himself gallantly. Nevertheless, after they had listened to him, the majority was still inclined to help the Rhodians, until Callicrates of Leontium rose and said that they should not go to war with anyone or send help to anyone without taking the advice of Rome. For this reason it was finally decided to take no steps.

17. The Rhodians, dissatisfied with the turn of events, adopted strange resolutions and expedients, and fell into a condition like that of those afflicted by chronic sickness. For such men, when, after following scrupulously all the treatment imposed on them and obeying the orders of their physician, they fail to see any sign of improvement, are often dissatisfied with the result and give up the treatment

μὲν θύταις καὶ μάντεσι προσέχειν, ἔνιοι δὲ πάσης
ἐπῳδῆς καὶ παντὸς περιάμματος πεῖραν λαμ-
3 βάνειν. ὃ καὶ περὶ τοὺς Ῥοδίους συνέβαινε·
πάντων γὰρ αὐτοῖς παρὰ δόξαν ἀπαντωμένων,
ἠναγκάζοντο παντὶ τῷ λεγομένῳ προσέχειν καὶ
πᾶσαν ἐλπίδα σωματοποιεῖν καὶ προσδέχεσθαι.
4 καὶ τοῦτ' ἐδόκουν πάσχειν εἰκότως· ὅταν γὰρ
μηδὲν ἀνύηται <τῶν> κατὰ λόγον, δέῃ δὲ κατ'
ἀνάγκην ἐνεργεῖσθαι τὸ συνεχές, ἀνάγκη πεῖραν
5 λαμβάνειν καὶ τῶν παρὰ λόγον. διὸ καὶ Ῥόδιοι
ἐμπεσόντες εἰς τοιαύτην διάθεσιν ἐποίησάν τι
τῶν γινομένων καὶ ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν ἄρχοντα,
τοῦτον πάλιν εἵλοντο ἄρχοντα, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ
παράλογα.

IX. Res Italiae

18 Ὅτι πρέσβεων διαφόρων παραγενομένων εἰς
(16) τὴν Ῥώμην ἡ σύγκλητος πρῶτον μὲν εἰσεκαλέσατο
2 τὸν Εὐμένους τοῦ βασιλέως υἱὸν Ἄτταλον· παρα-
γεγόνει γὰρ ἔτι παῖς ὢν κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον
εἰς Ῥώμην χάριν τοῦ τῇ τε συγκλήτῳ συ-
σταθῆναι καὶ τὰς πατρικὰς ἀνανεώσασθαι φιλίας
3 καὶ ξενίας. οὗτος μὲν οὖν φιλανθρώπως ὑπό
τε τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τῶν πατρικῶν φίλων ἀπο-
δεχθεὶς καὶ λαβὼν ἀποκρίσεις ἃς ἐβούλετο καὶ
τιμὰς ἁρμοζούσας τῇ καθ' αὑτὸν ἡλικίᾳ, μετά
4 τινας ἡμέρας ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, πασῶν
αὐτὸν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεων ἐκτενῶς
καὶ μεγαλοψύχως ἀποδεξαμένων κατὰ τὴν δίοδον.
5 ἧκε δὲ καὶ Δημήτριος κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν,
τυχὼν δὲ μετρίας ἀποδοχῆς ὡς παῖς αὖθις ἀν-

perforce, some of them taking the advice of performers of sacrifice and of soothsayers, and others resorting to all kinds of charms and amulets. The same thing happened to the Rhodians. For when everything had turned out contrary to their expectations, they listened perforce to all kinds of advice and gave substance and welcome to every kind of hope. And this seems quite natural; for when all reasonable action has failed and we are still compelled to go on doing something, we must perforce resort to unreasonable courses. The Rhodians, therefore, having reached this condition acted as often happens in such cases, choosing magistrates whom they had rejected and acting unreasonably in other respects.

IX. Affairs of Italy

Visits of the young Attalus, Demetrius, and Alexander Balas

18. Several embassies arrived in Rome, and the senate summoned in the first place Attalus, the son of King Eumenes, who had come to Rome at this time while still a boy to be introduced to the senate, and renew in his own person his father's friendships and hospitable relations. Having met with a kind reception from the senate and his father's friends and received the answers he wished, and such honours as suited his age, he returned home after a few days, all the Greek cities through which he passed giving him a cordial and generous reception. Demetrius also arrived at the same time, and after being received with no great state, as he was still a 154-153 B.C.

6 ἐχώρησεν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν. ὁ δ' Ἡρακλείδης κεχρονικὼς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν Λαοδίκην καὶ
7 τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὁ νεανίσκος ἐποιήσατό τινας μετρίους λόγους, ἠξίου δὲ Ῥωμαίους μνησθῆναι τῆς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίοχον τὸν αὑτοῦ πατέρα φιλίας καὶ συμμαχίας, μάλιστα δὲ
8 συγκατασκευάζειν αὑτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν· εἰ δὲ μή, συγχωρῆσαι τὴν κάθοδον καὶ μὴ κωλῦσαι τοὺς βουλομένους συμπράττειν αὑτῷ πρὸς τὸ
9 καθικέσθαι τῆς πατρῴας ἀρχῆς. ὁ δ' Ἡρακλείδης παραλαβὼν τὸν λόγον καὶ πολλήν τινα ποιησάμενος Ἀντιόχου μὲν μνείαν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ, Δημητρίου δὲ κατηγορίαν, εἰς τοῦτο κατήντησεν ὅτι δεῖ συγχωρεῖν τὴν κάθοδον τῷ τε νεανίσκῳ καὶ τῇ Λαοδίκῃ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον, οὖσιν Ἀντιόχου
10 τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκγόνοις κατὰ φύσιν. τοῖς μὲν οὖν μετρίοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν ἤρεσκε τούτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ δράματος ἐνενόουν καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην ἐβδελύττοντο προφανῶς.
11 οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τεθεραπευμένοι ταῖς Ἡρακλείδου γοητείαις συγκατηνέχθησαν ἐπὶ τὸ γράφειν δόγμα
12 τοιοῦτον· "Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ Λαοδίκη, βασιλέως υἱοί, φίλου καὶ συμμάχου ἡμετέρου γεγενημένου, ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν σύγκλητον λόγους ἐποιήσαντο·
13 ἡ δὲ σύγκλητος αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν ἔδωκεν ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῴαν ἀρχὴν καταπορεύεσθαι, καὶ βοηθεῖν αὐ-
14 τοῖς, ὡς ἠξίουν, ἔδοξεν." ὁ δ' Ἡρακλείδης ἐπιλαβόμενος τῆς ἀφορμῆς ταύτης εὐθέως ἐξενολόγει καὶ προσεκαλεῖτο τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν . . . ἀφικόμενος δ' εἰς τὴν Ἔφεσον ἐγίνετο περὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς προκειμένης ἐπιβολῆς.

boy, returned home. Heracleides too, after having spent some time in Rome, appeared before the senate accompanied by Laodice and Alexander The young man spoke first in a reasonable manner, begging the Romans to remember their friendship and alliance with his father Antiochus, and entreating them, if they could, to help him to regain his kingdom, but if not, to allow his return and not to prevent those who were willing to assist him in winning back his father's throne. After him Heracleides addressed them, delivering a long panegyric of Antiochus and accusing Demetrius, and finally maintaining that it was only just that they should allow the return of the young man and Laodice, who were the real children of King Antiochus. None of this pleased sober-minded members who understood the artful construction of the plot, and were frankly disgusted with Heracleides, but the majority, seduced by the charlatanry of Heracleides, were persuaded to draw up a consultum in these terms. "Alexander and Laodice, the children of a king who was our friend and ally, came before the senate and addressed it. The senate thereupon gave them authority to go home to regain their father's throne, and it was decided to grant their request for help." Heracleides now, availing himself of this permission, at once began to hire mercenaries and summoned to his aid a number of distinguished men. On arriving at Ephesus he occupied himself with preparations for his enterprise.

X. Res Syriae

19 Καὶ Δημήτριον δέ φησι, τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης
(14) τὴν ὁμηρείαν διαφυγόντα, ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ βασιλεύσαντα Σύρων πολυπότην ὄντα τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς ἡμέρας μεθύσκεσθαι.

FRAGMENTA INCERTAE SEDIS

20 Ὅτι ὅταν ἅπαξ οἱ πολλοὶ σχῶσιν ὁρμὴν πρὸς
(16ª) τὸ φιλεῖν ἢ μισεῖν τινας ὑπερβαλλόντως, πᾶσα πρόφασις ἱκανὴ γίνεται πρὸς τὸ συντελεῖν τὰς αὑτῶν προθέσεις.

21 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὀκνῶ μή ποτ᾽ εἰς τὸ περιφερόμενον
(16ª) ἐμπεσὼν λάθω, πότερον ὁ τὸν τράγον ἀμέλγων ἀφρονέστερος ἢ ὁ τὸ κόσκινον ὑπέχων· δοκῶ γὰρ δὴ κἀγὼ πρὸς ὁμολογουμένην ψευδολογίαν ἀκριβολογούμενος καὶ τὸν ἐπιμετροῦντα λόγον εἰσφέρων
2 παραπλήσιόν τι ποιεῖν. διὸ καὶ μάτην τελέως περὶ τούτων λέγειν, εἰ μή τις καὶ γράφειν ἐνύπνια βούλεται καὶ θεωρεῖν ἐγρηγορότος ἐνύπνια.

X. Affairs of Syria

(Athenaeus x. p. 440 b.)

19. Polybius tells us in his thirty-third Book that Demetrius, who escaped from Rome when he was a hostage, and became king of Syria, was much given to drink and was tipsy for the greater part of the day.

UNPLACED FRAGMENTS

20. When once the multitude are impelled to love or hate anyone in excess, any pretext is sufficient for them to execute their projects.

21. But I fear that the well-known adage may apply to me unknown to myself: "Which is the greater simpleton, the man who milks a he-goat or he who holds a sieve to catch the milk?" For it may be said of me that by confuting in detail what is confessed to be a lie, and doing so at great length, I am behaving in a very similar manner. So I shall be told I entirely waste my time in speaking of this matter, unless indeed I wish to record dreams and take into serious consideration the visions of a man with his eyes open.

FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXIV

FRAGMENTA GRAECA

I. Generalia nonnulla. De argumento huius libri

1 Οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ κοινῇ τῆς ἱστορίας γραφῇ χωρὶς
2 ἀποδείξαντες τὴν τῶν ἠπείρων τοπογραφίαν, καθ-
άπερ Ἔφορός τε ἐποίησε καὶ Πολύβιος.

3 Πολύβιος . . . φήσας περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν κα-
λῶς μὲν Εὔδοξον, κάλλιστα δ' Ἔφορον ἐξηγεῖσθαι
4 περὶ κτίσεων, συγγενειῶν, μεταναστάσεων, ἀρχη-
γετῶν, ἡμεῖς δέ, φησί, τὰ νῦν ὄντα δηλώσομεν καὶ
5 περὶ θέσεως τόπων καὶ διαστημάτων· τοῦτο γάρ
6 ἐστιν οἰκειότατον χωρογραφίᾳ. ἀλλὰ μὴν σύγε,
ὦ Πολύβιε, ὁ τὰς λαοδογματικὰς ἀποφάσεις περὶ
τῶν διαστημάτων εἰσάγων οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἔξω τῆς
Ἑλλάδος μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς.

7 Πολύβιος οὖν ὁ ἱστοριογράφος πεπραγμάτευται
βιβλίον, ὃ ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχει "περὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν
ἰσημερινὸν οἰκήσεως·" αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἐν μέσῃ τῇ
8 διακεκαυμένῃ ζώνῃ. καί φησιν οἰκεῖσθαι τοὺς

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXIV

GREEK FRAGMENTS CHIEFLY FROM STRABO

I. Some General Remarks. The Subject of this Book

(From Strabo viii. 1. 1, C 332.)

1. Those who in a general history have dealt separately with the geography of the continents like Ephorus and Polybius.

(*Id.* x. 3. 5, C 465.)

Polybius says that in regard to Greece Eudoxus has given a good and Ephorus a very good account of the foundation of cities, genealogies, migrations, and the planters of colonies; "but I," he adds, "will describe the actual situation of places and give the actual distances, that being the most essential thing in geography." But yet it is you, Polybius, who introduce the popular misstatements of distances not only outside Greece, but in Greece itself.

(From Geminus, *Elements of Astronomy*, C 16.)

Polybius the historian has composed a book with the title *On the parts of the globe under the Celestial Equator*, that is to say in the middle of the torrid zone. He says that the region is inhabited,

τόπους καὶ εὐκρατοτέραν ἔχειν τὴν οἴκησιν τῶν
περὶ τὰ πέρατα τῆς διακεκαυμένης ζώνης κατ-
οικούντων. καὶ ἃ μὲν ἱστορίας φέρει τῶν κατ-
ωπτευκότων τὰς οἰκήσεις καὶ ἐπιμαρτυρούντων τοῖς
φαινομένοις, ἃ δὲ ἐπιλογίζεται ἐπὶ τῆς φυσικῆς
9 περὶ τὸν ἥλιον ὑπαρχούσης κινήσεως. ὁ γὰρ
ἥλιος περὶ μὲν τοὺς τροπικοὺς κύκλους πολὺν
ἐπιμένει χρόνον κατά τε τὴν πρόσοδον τὴν πρὸς
αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν ἀποχώρησιν, ὥστε σχεδὸν ἐφ᾽
ἡμέρας τετταράκοντα μένει πρὸς αἴσθησιν ἐπὶ
10 <τῶν> τροπικῶν κύκλων. δι᾽ ἣν αἰτίαν καὶ τὰ
μεγέθη τῶν ἡμερῶν σχεδὸν ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας μʹ τὰ
αὐτὰ διαμένει. ὅθεν ἐπιμονῆς γινομένης πρὸς
τὰς οἰκήσεις τὰς κειμένας ὑπὸ τοὺς τροπικοὺς
ἀνάγκη ἐκπυροῦσθαι τὴν οἴκησιν καὶ ἀοίκητον
11 γίνεσθαι διὰ τὴν τοῦ καύματος ὑπερβολήν. ἀπὸ
δὲ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ κύκλου ταχείας συμβαίνει τὰς
ἀποχωρήσεις γίνεσθαι. ὅθεν καὶ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν
ἡμερῶν περὶ τὰς ἰσημερίας μεγάλας λαμβάνει τὰς
παραυξήσεις. εὔλογον οὖν καὶ τὰς ὑπὸ τὸν
ἰσημερινὸν κειμένας οἰκήσεις εὐκρατοτέρας ὑπ-
άρχειν, ἐπιμονῆς μὲν <οὐ> γινομένης ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ
κορυφὴν σημείου, ταχέως δὲ ἀποχωροῦντος τοῦ ἡ-
12 λίου. πάντες γὰρ οἱ μεταξὺ τῶν τροπικῶν κύκλων
οἰκοῦντες παρὰ τὴν πάροδον ὁμοίως κεῖνται τοῦ
ἡλίου· πλείονας δὲ χρόνους ἐπιμένει τοῖς περὶ τοὺς
13 τροπικοὺς οἰκοῦσι. δι᾽ ἣν αἰτίαν εὐκρατοτέρας
εἶναι συμβέβηκε τὰς ὑπὸ τὸν ἰσημερινὸν οἰκήσεις,
αἵτινες κεῖνται ἐν μέσῃ τῇ διακεκαυμένῃ ζώνῃ,
τῶν περὶ τὰ πέρατα τῆς διακεκαυμένης οἰκήσεων,
αἵτινες ὑπὸ τοὺς τροπικοὺς κύκλους κεῖνται.

14 Πολύβιος δὲ ποιεῖ ζώνας ἕξ, δύο μὲν τὰς τοῖς

and has a more temperate climate than that of those who inhabit the extremities of the torrid zone. On the one hand he cites the accounts given by those who have actually visited the region, and can testify to the fact, and on the other he argues from the nature of the sun's movements. For at the solstices the sun remains a long time near the tropic circles both in approaching them and receding from them, so that we actually see it stay in their neighbourhood for about forty days; for which reason the length of the day remains almost the same for about forty days. So owing to the length of its stay over the climates lying under the tropic circles, that region is burnt up and is uninhabitable owing to the excessive heat. But from the equinoctial circle or equator the sun recedes rapidly, so that the length of the day rapidly increases or decreases after the equinoxes. It is reasonable then to suppose that the climates situated under the equator are more temperate, as the sun does not prolong his stay near the extreme point but rapidly recedes from it. For all those who live between the two tropic circles are equally exposed to the passage of the sun; but he remains longer over those who live under the actual tropics. So for this reason the region under the equator in the middle of the torrid zone has a more temperate climate than those at the extremities of the torrid zone, which lie under the tropic circles.

(From Strabo ii. 3. 1, C 96.)

Polybius makes the zones six in number, two lying

ἀρκτικοῖς ὑποπιπτούσας, δύο δὲ τὰς μεταξὺ τούτων τε καὶ τῶν τροπικῶν <καὶ δύο τὰς μεταξὺ τούτων> καὶ τοῦ ἰσημερινοῦ.

15 Ὁ δὲ Πολύβιος τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ εὖ, τὸ ποιεῖν τινας ζώνας τοῖς ἀρκτικοῖς διοριζομένας, δύο μὲν τὰς ὑποπιπτούσας αὐτοῖς, δύο δὲ τὰς μεταξὺ τούτων καὶ τῶν τροπικῶν.

16 Εἰ δ', ὥσπερ Ἐρατοσθένης φησίν, ἡ ὑποπίπτουσα τῷ ἰσημερινῷ ἐστιν εὔκρατος, καθάπερ καὶ Πολύβιος ὁμοδοξεῖ—προστίθησι δ' οὗτος καὶ διότι ὑψηλοτάτη ἐστί· διόπερ καὶ κατομβρεῖται, τῶν βορείων νεφῶν κατὰ τοὺς ἐτησίας ἐκεῖ τοῖς ἀναστήμασι προσπιπτόντων πλείστων—πολὺ κρεῖττον τρίτην εὔκρατον ταύτην ποιεῖν στενήν τινα, ἢ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῖς τροπικοῖς εἰσάγειν.

17 Ἐνίσταται δ' ὁ Ποσειδώνιος τῷ Πολυβίῳ, διότι φησὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τῷ ἰσημερινῷ οἴκησιν ὑψηλοτάτην.

18 Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ αὐτῶν πολλὴ διαφωνία τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν γέγονεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἓξ αὐτὰς εἶπον, ὡς Πολύβιος καὶ Ποσειδώνιος, τὴν διακεκαυμένην εἰς δύο διαιροῦντες.

II. De Ulixis Navigatione, prope Siciliam praesertim

2 Ἐκ μηδενὸς δὲ ἀληθοῦς ἀνάπτειν κενὴν τερατο-

under the arctic circles, two between these and the tropic circles, and two between the latter and the equinoctial circle or equator.

(*Id.* ii. 3. 2, C 97.)

Polybius is mistaken in making some zones determined by the arctic circles, two immediately under them, and two between them and the tropic circles.

(*Id.*)

But if, as Eratosthenes says, the zone under the equator is temperate, agreeing in this with Polybius—the latter adds that it is very high and therefore has a rainfall, the clouds from the north during the etesian winds being arrested by the heights in large masses—it is much better to assume that this is a third narrow temperate zone, than to introduce here the two zones under the tropic circles.

(*Id.*)

Poseidonius is against the statement of Polybius that the region under the equator is very high.

(From Achilles, Introduction to the *Phaenomena*, C 31.)

Those after Aratus are not at all agreed about the number of the zones. Some, like Polybius and Poseidonius, say they are six, dividing the torrid zone into two.

II. On the Voyage of Ulysses, especially in the neighbourhood of Sicily.

(Strabo i. 2. 9, C 20.)

2. It is not like Homer to build an empty narrative

2 λογίαν οὐχ Ὁμηρικόν. προσπίπτει γάρ, ὡς εἰκός,
ὡς πιθανώτερον ἂν οὕτω τις ψεύδοιτο, εἰ κατα-
3 μίσγοι τι καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀληθινῶν· ὅπερ καὶ
Πολύβιός φησι περὶ τῆς Ὀδυσσέως πλάνης ἐπι-
χειρῶν.

4 Καὶ Πολύβιος δ' ὀρθῶς ὑπονοεῖ τὰ περὶ τῆς
5 πλάνης. τὸν γὰρ Αἴολον τὸν προσημαίνοντα
τοὺς ἔκπλους ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν πορθμὸν τόποις
ἀμφιδρόμοις οὖσι καὶ δυσέκπλοις διὰ τὰς παλιρ-
ροίας ταμίαν τε εἰρῆσθαι τῶν ἀνέμων καὶ βασιλέα
6 νενομίσθαι φησί, καθάπερ Δαναὸν μὲν τὰ ὑδρεῖα
τὰ ἐν Ἄργει παραδείξαντα, Ἀτρέα δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου
τὸν ὑπεναντίον τῷ οὐρανῷ δρόμον, μάντεις τε καὶ
7 ἱεροσκοπουμένους ἀποδείκνυσθαι βασιλέας· τούς
θ' ἱερέας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίους καὶ
Μάγους σοφίᾳ τινὶ διαφέροντας τῶν ἄλλων ἡγε-
μονίας καὶ τιμῆς τυγχάνειν παρὰ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν.
8 οὕτω δὲ καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἕνα ἕκαστον τῶν χρησίμων
9 τινὸς εὑρετὴν γενόμενον τιμᾶσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ
προοικονομησάμενος οὐκ ἐᾷ τὸν Αἴολον ἐν μύθου
σχήματι ἀκούεσθαι, οὐδ' ὅλην τὴν Ὀδυσσέως
πλάνην, ἀλλὰ μικρὰ μὲν προσμεμυθεῦσθαι, καθ-
10 άπερ καὶ τῷ Ἰλιακῷ πολέμῳ, τὸ δ' ὅλον περὶ
Σικελίαν καὶ τῷ ποιητῇ πεποιῆσθαι καὶ τοῖς
ἄλλοις συγγραφεῦσιν, ὅσοι τἀπιχώρια λέγουσι τὰ
11 περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν. οὐκ ἐπαινεῖ δὲ
οὐδὲ τὴν τοιαύτην τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους ἀπόφασιν,
διότι φησὶ τότ' ἂν εὑρεῖν τινα ποῦ Ὀδυσσεὺς
πεπλάνηται, ὅταν εὕρῃ τὸν σκυτέα τὸν συρράψαντα
12 τὸν τῶν ἀνέμων ἀσκόν. καὶ τοῦτο δ' οἰκείως

full of marvels on no basis of truth. For naturally the fact is that one makes falsehood more credible if one mixes a little truth with it, as Polybius also says when he undertakes to deal with the wanderings of Ulysses.

(*Id.* i. 2. 15–17, C 23–25.)

Polybius is right in his notion about the wanderings of Ulysses. For he says that Aeolus, the man who gave sailing directions for the seas near the Straits, which have a current setting both ways and are difficult to pass owing to the tides, was supposed to be the dispenser of the winds and a king, just as Danaus, who first showed them how to make the reservoirs in Argos, and Atreus who discovered that the motion of the sun was contrary to that of the heavens, and seers and those who practised divination from sacrifices, were styled kings, and the Egyptian priests, and the Chaldaeans and the Magi, who were distinguished from other men by some special science, enjoyed in early times peculiar precedence and honour, and just as each of the gods is honoured as the author of some useful invention. Having thus prepared his way, he does not allow us to treat Aeolus and the whole of the wanderings of Ulysses as mythical, but he says, that while some mythical elements have been added, as in the case of the Trojan war, the main statements about Sicily correspond to those of the other writers who treat of the local history of Italy and Sicily. Neither does he applaud the dictum of Eratosthenes that we may find out where Ulysses travelled when we find the cobbler who sewed the bag of the winds. And it is, he says, quite in accordance with the facts about the

εἰρῆσθαι τοῖς συμβαίνουσι περὶ τὸ Σκύλλαιον καὶ τὴν θήραν τῶν γαλεωτῶν, τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς Σκύλλης,

13 αὐτοῦ δ' ἰχθυάᾳ, σκόπελον περιμαιμώωσα,
δελφῖνάς τε κύνας τε καὶ εἴ ποθι μεῖζον ἕλῃσι
κῆτος.

14 τοὺς γὰρ θύννους ἀγεληδὸν φερομένους παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐπειδὰν ἐκπέσωσι καὶ κωλυθῶσι τῆς Σικελίας ἅψασθαι, περιπίπτειν τοῖς μείζοσι τῶν ζῴων, οἷον δελφίνων καὶ κυνῶν καὶ ἄλλων κητωδῶν,
15 ἐκ δὲ τῆς θήρας αὐτῶν πιαίνεσθαι τοὺς γαλεώτας,
16 οὓς καὶ ξιφίας λέγεσθαι καὶ κύνας φησί. συμβαίνειν γὰρ ταὐτὸν ἐνθάδε καὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀναβάσεις τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὑδάτων, ὅπερ ἐπὶ πυρὸς καὶ ὕλης ἐμπιπραμένης· ἀθροιζόμενα γὰρ τὰ θηρία φεύγειν τὸ πῦρ ἢ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ βορὰν γίνεσθαι τοῖς κρείττοσι.
3 Ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν διηγεῖται τῶν γαλεωτῶν θήραν,
2 ἣ συνίσταται περὶ τὸ Σκύλλαιον. σκοπὸς γὰρ ἐφέστηκε κοινὸς ὑφορμοῦσιν ἐν δικώποις σκαφι-
3 δίοις πολλοῖς, δύο καθ' ἕκαστον σκαφίδιον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐλαύνει, ὁ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς πρῴρας ἕστηκε δόρυ ἔχων, σημήναντος τοῦ σκοποῦ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ γαλεώτου. φέρεται δὲ τὸ τρίτον μέρος
4 ἔξαλον τὸ ζῷον. συνάψαντος δὲ τοῦ σκάφους ὁ μὲν ἔπληξεν ἐκ χειρός, εἶτ' ἐξέσπασεν ἐκ τοῦ
5 σώματος τὸ δόρυ χωρὶς τῆς ἐπιδορατίδος· ἀγκιστρώδης τε γάρ ἐστι καὶ χαλαρῶς ἐνήρμοσται τῷ δόρατι ἐπίτηδες, καλῴδιον δ' ἔχει μακρὸν ἐξημμένον. τοῦτ' ἐπιχαλῶσι τῷ τρωθέντι, τέως
6 ἂν κάμῃ σφαδᾶζον καὶ ὑποφεῦγον· τότε δ' ἕλκου-

Scyllaean rock and the method of fishing for sword-fish, when he says about Scylla—

> Her heads, with which the ravening monster dives
> In quest of dolphins, dog-fish, or of prey
> More bulky.[a]

For when the tunnies swimming in shoals along the Italian coast are carried out of their course and are unable to approach the Sicilian coast they fall a prey to larger animals, such as dolphins, sharks, and other marine monsters. By preying on them the sword-fish (galeotae), also called xiphiae and sea-dogs, are fattened. For in this case and in that of the rising of the Nile and other waters, the same thing happens as in the case of forest fires. The wild animals collect to escape from the fire or the water and are devoured by the more powerful ones.

3. After saying this he describes the method of fishing for the sword-fish as practised near the Scyllaean rock. There is a single signaller for the whole fleet of small sculling boats. In each boat, whenever the signaller announces the appearance of the sword-fish, one man rows and another stands on the prow holding a harpoon. The fish swims with the third part of his body out of the water. When the boat gets near it the man strikes it from close quarters and then pulls out of its body the shaft of the spear, leaving the point, which is barbed and is on purpose loosely fixed into the shaft, having a long line attached to it. They give the wounded fish line until he is tired out by his struggles and his effort to escape. Then they land him or pull him

[a] *Od.* xii. 95-7.

σιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἢ εἰς τὸ σκάφος ἀναλαμβάνουσιν,
7 ἐὰν μὴ μέγα ᾖ τελέως τὸ σῶμα. κἂν ἐκπέσῃ
δὲ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν τὸ δόρυ, οὐκ ἀπόλωλεν· ἔστι
γὰρ πηκτὸν ἔκ τε δρυὸς καὶ ἐλάτης, ὥστε βαπτι-
ζομένου τοῦ δρυΐνου βάρει μετέωρον εἶναι τὸ
8 λοιπὸν καὶ εὐανάληπτον. συμβαίνειν δέ ποτε
καὶ τιτρώσκεσθαι διὰ τοῦ σκαφιδίου τὸν κωπη-
λάτην διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ξίφους τῶν γαλεωτῶν
καὶ τὸ τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ ζῴου συαγρώδη εἶναι καὶ
τὴν θήραν.
9 Ἔκ τε δὴ τῶν τοιούτων εἰκάζοι τις ἄν, φησί,
περὶ Σικελίαν γενέσθαι τὴν πλάνην κατὰ τὸν
Ὅμηρον, ὅτι τῇ Σκύλλῃ προσῆψε τὴν τοιαύτην
θήραν, ἣ μάλιστ' ἐπιχώριός ἐστι τῷ Σκυλλαίῳ,
10 καὶ ἐκ τῶν περὶ τῆς Χαρύβδεως λεγομένων ὁμοίων
11 τοῖς τοῦ πορθμοῦ πάθεσι. τὸ δὲ

τρὶς μὲν γάρ τ' ἀνίησιν

12 ἀντὶ τοῦ δὶς γραφικὸν εἶναι ἁμάρτημα ἢ ἱστορικόν.
καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Μήνιγγι δὲ τοῖς περὶ τῶν Λωτοφάγων
εἰρημένοις συμφωνεῖν.
4 Εἰ δέ τινα μὴ συμφωνεῖ, μεταβολὰς αἰτιᾶσθαι
δεῖν ἢ ἄγνοιαν ἢ καὶ ποιητικὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἣ συν-
έστηκεν ἐξ ἱστορίας καὶ διαθέσεως καὶ μύθου.
2 τῆς μὲν οὖν ἱστορίας ἀλήθειαν εἶναι τέλος, ὡς ἐν
Νεῶν καταλόγῳ τὰ ἑκάστοις τόποις συμβεβηκότα
λέγοντος τοῦ ποιητοῦ, τὴν μὲν πετρήεσσαν, τὴν
δὲ ἐσχατόωσαν πόλιν, ἄλλην δὲ πολυτρήρωνα,
3 τὴν δ' ἀγχίαλον· τῆς δὲ διαθέσεως ἐνέργειαν
εἶναι τὸ τέλος, ὡς ὅταν μαχομένους εἰσάγῃ,
4 μύθου δὲ ἡδονὴν καὶ ἔκπληξιν. τὸ δὲ πάντα

into the boat, unless he is exceedingly heavy. If the shaft happens to fall into the sea, it is not lost, for it is composed of oak and pinewood, so that when the oaken part of it sinks owing to its weight the rest remains on the surface and can be easily picked up. Sometimes the rower is wounded through the boat owing to the length of the fish's sword, and the fact that in his force and in the method of hunting him he is like a wild boar.

From all this, he says, one may conjecture that according to Homer Ulysses is wandering near Sicily, since he attributes to Scylla that method of fishing which is especially practised by the natives near the Scyllaean rock, and also because what he says about Charybdis resembles what happens in the straits. And as for "thrice she disgorges,"[a] it is rather an error in the text for "twice" than an error of fact. And what happens in the island of Meninx is in agreement with the description of the Lotus-eaters.

4. And if there is anything that does not correspond with reality, we must set it down to change or error or poetic licence, a combination of history, disposition, and myth. Now the end aimed at by history is truth, and so we find the poet in the Catalogue of Ships mentioning the peculiar features of each place, calling one town "rocky," another "on the border," another "with many doves," another "by the sea"; and the end aimed at by disposition is vividness, as in his battle scenes, while the aim of myth is to please or astonish. But to invent everything neither produces illusion nor is it

[a] *Od.* xii. 105.

πλάττειν οὐ πιθανὸν οὐδ' Ὁμηρικόν· τὴν γὰρ ἐκείνου ποίησιν φιλοσόφημα πάντας νομίζειν, οὐχ ὡς Ἐρατοσθένης φησί, κελεύων μὴ κρίνειν πρὸς τὴν διάνοιαν τὰ ποιήματα μηδ' ἱστορίαν ἀπ'
5 αὐτῶν ζητεῖν. πιθανώτερόν τε τὸ

ἔνθεν δ' ἐννῆμαρ φερόμην ὀλοοῖς ἀνέμοισιν

ἐν βραχεῖ διαστήματι δέχεσθαι—οἱ γὰρ ὀλοοὶ οὐκ εὐθύδρομοι—ἢ ἐξωκεανίζειν, ὡς ἂν οὐρίων
6 πνεόντων συνεχῶς. συνθεὶς δὲ τὸ διάστημα τὸ ἐκ Μαλεῶν ἐπὶ στήλας σταδίων δισμυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων πεντακοσίων, εἰ, φησί, τοῦτο θείημεν ἐν ταῖς ἐννέα ἡμέραις διηνύσθαι ἰσοταχῶς, ἑκάστης ἂν ἡμέρας ὁ πλοῦς συμβαίνοι σταδίων δισχιλίων
7 πεντακοσίων. τίς οὖν ἱστόρηκεν ἐκ Λυκίας ἢ Ῥόδου δευτεραῖόν τινα ἀφιγμένον εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, ὄντος τοῦ διαστήματος σταδίων τετρακισ-
8 χιλίων; πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιζητοῦντας πῶς τρὶς εἰς Σικελίαν ἐλθὼν οὐδ' ἅπαξ διὰ τοῦ πορθμοῦ πέπλευκεν Ὀδυσσεύς, ἀπολογεῖται διότι καὶ οἱ ὕστερον ἔφευγον ἅπαντες τὸν πλοῦν τοῦτον. τοιαῦτα μὲν εἴρηκεν.

III. Contra priores Scriptores Geographicos disputat Polybius

5 Πολύβιος δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην χωρογραφῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀρχαίους ἐᾶν φησι, τοὺς δ' ἐκείνους ἐλέγχοντας ἐξετάζειν Δικαίαρχόν τε καὶ Ἐρατοσθένη τὸν τελευταῖον πραγματευσάμενον περὶ γεωγραφίας
2 καὶ Πυθέαν, ὑφ' οὗ παρακρουσθῆναι πολλούς,

like Homer; for all consider his poems to be philosophical works, and refuse to follow the advice of Eratosthenes who tells us not to judge the poems by their meaning or seek for history in them. Polybius says, too, that to understand

Nine days by cruel storms I thence was borne[a]

of a short voyage is more likely, as cruel winds do not carry us straight, than to understand that he sailed out into the ocean as if fair winds blew all the time. And reckoning the distance from Cape Malea to the Pillars of Hercules as twenty-two thousand stades, he says if this were traversed in nine days at a uniform pace it would mean that each day he made 2500 stades. Now, who has ever heard of anyone sailing from Lycia or Rhodes to Alexandria in two days, the distance here being 4000 stades? And to those who object that Ulysses, though he came thrice to Sicily, did not once pass the Straits of Messina, he replies that every one after him also avoided this route. This, then, is what he says.

III. Polybius's Criticism of previous Geographical Writers

(*Id.* ii. 4. 1–3, C 104.)

5. Polybius in his account of the geography of Europe says that he dismisses older authors, but that he will examine those who find fault with them, Dicaearchus and Eratosthenes, the latest author who has dealt with geography, and Pytheas who has

[a] *Od.* ix. 82.

ὅλην μὲν τὴν Βρεττανικὴν ἐμβαδὸν ἐπελθεῖν
φάσκοντος, τὴν δὲ περίμετρον πλειόνων ἢ τετ-
3 τάρων μυριάδων ἀποδόντος τῆς νήσου, προσιστο-
ρήσαντος δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Θούλης καὶ τῶν
τόπων ἐκείνων, ἐν οἷς οὔτε γῆ καθ' αὑτὴν ὑπῆρχεν
ἔτι οὔτε θάλαττα οὔτ' ἀήρ, ἀλλὰ σύγκριμά τι ἐκ
4 τούτων πλεύμονι θαλαττίῳ ἐοικός, ἐν ᾧ φησι τὴν
γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλατταν αἰωρεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ σύμπαντα,
καὶ τοῦτον ὡς ἂν δεσμὸν εἶναι τῶν ὅλων, μήτε
5 πορευτὸν μήτε πλωτὸν ὑπάρχοντα. τὸ μὲν οὖν
τῷ πλεύμονι ἐοικὸς αὐτὸς ἑωρακέναι, τἄλλα δὲ
6 λέγειν ἐξ ἀκοῆς. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ τοῦ Πυθέου, καὶ
διότι ἐπανελθὼν ἐνθένδε πᾶσαν ἐπέλθοι τὴν
παρωκεανῖτιν τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀπὸ Γαδείρων ἕως
7 Τανάιδος· φησὶ δ' οὖν ὁ Πολύβιος ἄπιστον καὶ
αὐτὸ τοῦτο πῶς ἰδιώτῃ ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ πένητι τὰ
τοσαῦτα διαστήματα πλωτὰ καὶ πορευτὰ γένοιτο.
8 τὸν δ' Ἐρατοσθένη διαπορήσαντα εἰ χρὴ πιστεύειν
τούτοις, ὅμως περί τε τῆς Βρεττανικῆς πεπιστευ-
κέναι καὶ τῶν κατὰ Γάδειρα καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν.
9 πολὺ δέ φησι βέλτιον τῷ Μεσσηνίῳ πιστεύειν ἢ
τούτῳ· ὁ μέντοι γε εἰς μίαν χώραν τὴν Παγχαίαν
λέγει πλεῦσαι· ὁ δὲ καὶ μέχρι τῶν τοῦ κόσμου
περάτων κατωπτευκέναι τὴν προσάρκτιον τῆς
Εὐρώπης πᾶσαν, ἣν οὐδ' ἂν τῷ Ἑρμῇ πιστεύσαι
10 τις λέγοντι. Ἐρατοσθένη δὲ τὸν μὲν Εὐήμερον
Βεργαῖον καλεῖν, Πυθέᾳ δὲ πιστεύειν, καὶ ταῦτα
11 μηδὲ Δικαιάρχου πιστεύσαντος. τὸ μὲν οὖν
"μηδὲ Δικαιάρχου πιστεύσαντος" γελοῖον, ὥσπερ

led many people into error by saying that he traversed the whole of Britain on foot, giving the island a circumference of forty thousand stades, and telling us also about Thule, those regions in which there was no longer any proper land nor sea nor air, but a sort of mixture of all three of the consistency of a jelly-fish in which the land and sea float, this medium, in which one can neither walk nor sail, holding everything together, so to speak. He says he himself saw this jellyfish-like substance but the rest he derives from hearsay. That is the account that Pytheas gives, and he tells us that he came back thence and starting again followed the whole shore of the ocean from Cadiz to the river Tanaïs. Polybius, then, says that it is in itself incredible that a private man and a poor man should have traversed such vast distances in a ship or on foot, but that Eratosthenes, while doubting if one should believe this, still believes in the account of Britain and the neighbourhood of Gades and the rest of Spain. But Polybius says it is far better to believe the Messenian Euhemerus [a] than Pytheas, for Euhemerus says that he sailed only to one country, Panchaia, but Pytheas says that he personally visited the whole northern coast of Europe as far as the ends of the world, a thing we would not even believe of Hermes himself if he told us so. Eratosthenes, however, he says, calls Euhemerus a Bergaean,[b] but believes Pytheas whom not even Dicaearchus believed. Now to say "whom not even Dicaearchus believed" is ridiculous, as if we

[a] The celebrated rationalist, who pretended that he had discovered in an island called Panchaia evidence for his statements regarding the gods.

[b] *i.e.* as great a liar as Antiphanes of Berga, a traveller who told many marvellous tales.

ἐκείνῳ κανόνι χρήσασθαι προσῆκον, καθ' οὗ
12 τοσούτους ἐλέγχους αὐτὸς προφέρεται· Ἐρατο-
σθένους δὲ εἴρηται ἡ περὶ τὰ ἑσπέρια καὶ τὰ ἀρκτικὰ
13 τῆς Εὐρώπης ἄγνοια. ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν καὶ
Δικαιάρχῳ συγγνώμη τοῖς μὴ κατιδοῦσι τοὺς
τόπους ἐκείνους· Πολυβίῳ δὲ καὶ Ποσειδωνίῳ
14 τίς ἂν συγγνοίη; ἀλλὰ μὴν Πολύβιός γέ ἐστιν
ὁ λαοδογματικὰς καλῶν ἀποφάσεις, ἃς ποιοῦνται
περὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις τοῖς τόποις διαστημάτων καὶ
ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν οἷς ἐκείνους ἐλέγχει
6 καθαρεύων. τοῦ γοῦν Δικαιάρχου μυρίους μὲν
εἰπόντος τοὺς ἐπὶ στήλας ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου
σταδίους, πλείους δὲ τούτων τοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀδρίαν
μέχρι τοῦ μυχοῦ, τοῦ δ' ἐπὶ στήλας τὸ μέχρι τοῦ
πορθμοῦ τρισχιλίους ἀποδόντος, ὡς γίνεσθαι τὸ
λοιπὸν ἑπτακισχιλίους τὸ ἀπὸ πορθμοῦ μέχρι
2 στηλῶν, τοὺς μὲν τρισχιλίους ἐᾶν φησιν εἴτ' εὖ
λαμβάνονται εἴτε μή, τοὺς δ' ἑπτακισχιλίους
οὐδετέρως, οὔτε τὴν παραλίαν ἐκμετροῦντι οὔτε
3 τὴν διὰ μέσου τοῦ πελάγους. τὴν μὲν γὰρ παρα-
λίαν ἐοικέναι μάλιστ' ἀμβλείᾳ γωνίᾳ, βεβηκυίᾳ
4 ἐπί τε τοῦ πορθμοῦ καὶ τῶν στηλῶν, κορυφὴν δ'
ἐχούσῃ Νάρβωνα, ὥστε συνίστασθαι τρίγωνον,
βάσιν ἔχον τὴν διὰ τοῦ πελάγους εὐθεῖαν, πλευρὰς
5 δὲ τὰς τὴν γωνίαν ποιούσας τὴν λεχθεῖσαν. ὧν
ἡ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ μέχρι Νάρβωνος μυρίων
ἐστὶ καὶ πλειόνων ἢ διακοσίων ἐπὶ τοῖς χιλίοις,
ἡ δὲ λοιπὴ μικρῷ λεῖπον [ἐλαττόνων ἢ] ὀκτα-
6 κισχιλίων. καὶ μὴν πλεῖστον μὲν διάστημα ἀπὸ
τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπὶ τὴν Λιβύην ὁμολογεῖσθαι κατὰ
τὸ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος σταδίων οὐ πλειόνων ἢ
τρισχιλίων, κατὰ τὸ Σαρδόνιον δὲ λαμβάνειν

should take him as a standard, an author in whom Polybius himself detects so many errors. I have spoken above of Eratosthenes' mistaken notion of the west and north of Europe. But while we should excuse him and Dicaearchus who had never seen these districts, how can we excuse Polybius and Poseidonius? Who but Polybius is it who calls the statements they make about distances in this case and in many others popular misstatements, but he is not even correct where he confutes them. 6. As for Dicaearchus at least he says that the distance from the Peloponnesus to the Pillars of Hercules is 10,000 stades, and that that to the head of the Adriatic is more. The distance as far as the Straits in going to the Pillars he estimates at 3000, so that the remainder from the Straits to the Pillars amounts to 7000. Here Polybius says that he leaves it out of consideration whether Dicaearchus is right or not in his estimate of 3000 stades, but that he is not right in that of 7000, whether we follow the coast or go straight across the sea. For the coast-line resembles an obtuse angle, the two sides resting on the Straits and the Pillars respectively, and the apex being at Narbo, so that a triangle is formed the base of which is the straight line across the sea and the two sides those forming the above angle. Of these sides the one reaching from the Straits to Narbo measures more than 10,200 stades, and the other a little less than 8000 stades. Now the longest distance from Europe to Africa across the Tyrrhenian Sea is not more than 3000 stades; across the Sardinian Sea

7 συναγωγήν. ἀλλ' ἔστω, φησί, καὶ ἐκεῖνο τρισ-
χιλίων, προειλήφθω δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις δισχιλίων
σταδίων τὸ τοῦ κόλπου βάθος τοῦ κατὰ Νάρβωνα,
ὡς ἂν κάθετος ἀπὸ τῆς κορυφῆς ἐπὶ τὴν βάσιν
8 τοῦ ἀμβλυγωνίου. δῆλον οὖν, φησίν, ἐκ τῆς
παιδικῆς μετρήσεως ὅτι ἡ σύμπασα παραλία ἡ
ἀπὸ τοῦ πορθμοῦ ἐπὶ στήλας ἔγγιστα ὑπερέχει τῆς
διὰ τοῦ πελάγους εὐθείας πεντακοσίοις σταδίοις.
9 προστεθέντων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἐπὶ
τὸν πορθμὸν τρισχιλίων, οἱ σύμπαντες ἔσονται
στάδιοι, αὐτοὶ οἱ ἐπ' εὐθείας, πλείους ἢ διπλάσιοι
10 ὧν Δικαίαρχος εἶπε. πλείους δὲ τούτων τοὺς
ἐπὶ τὸν μυχὸν τὸν Ἀδριατικὸν δεήσει, φησί,
τιθέναι κατ' ἐκεῖνον.

11 Ἀλλ', ὦ φίλε Πολύβιε, φαίη τις ἄν, ὥσπερ
τούτου τοῦ ψεύσματος ἐναργῆ παρίστησι τὸν
12 ἔλεγχον ἡ πεῖρα ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν εἴρηκας αὐτός, εἰς
μὲν Λευκάδα ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἑπτακοσίους,
ἐντεῦθεν δὲ τοὺς ἴσους εἰς Κόρκυραν, καὶ πάλιν
ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὰ Κεραύνια τοὺς ἴσους καὶ ἐν δεξιᾷ
εἰς τὴν Ἰαπυδίαν ἀπὸ τῶν Κεραυνίων τὴν Ἰλλυρι-
κὴν παραλίαν σταδίων ἑξακισχιλίων ἑκατὸν πεντή-
13 κοντα. οὕτως κἀκεῖνα ψεύσματά ἐστιν ἀμφότερα,
καὶ ὃ Δικαίαρχος εἶπε, τὸ ἀπὸ πορθμοῦ ἐπὶ στήλας
εἶναι σταδίων ἑπτακισχιλίων, καὶ ὃ σὺ δοκεῖς ἀπο-
14 δεῖξαι· ὁμολογοῦσι γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι λέγοντες τὸ διὰ
πελάγους μυρίων εἶναι καὶ δισχιλίων.

15 Πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως δόξειεν ὑπερβεβηκέναι καὶ
ἀπολεληρηκέναι τὸν Βεργαῖον Ἀντιφάνην καὶ
καθόλου μηδενὶ καταλιπεῖν ὑπερβολὴν ἀνοίας τῶν
ἐπιγινομένων;

it is somewhat shorter, but let us, he says, call it there also 3000 stades, and besides this let us assume that the depth of the Gulf of Narbo, or let us say of a perpendicular from the apex to the base of the obtuse angle is 2000 stades. Then, he says, it is evident from a schoolboy's geometry that the whole coast-line from the Straits to the Pillars is longer by very nearly 500 stades than the straight line across the sea. Then if we add to this the 3000 stades from the Peloponnesus to the Straits, the whole distance along this straight line will be more than double the estimate of Dicaearchus, and according to him we must reckon the distance to the head of the Adriatic as even more than this.

But one feels inclined to say, "my dear Polybius, the falsity of all this is clearly demonstrated when tested by your own statements, which are that it is 700 stades from the Peloponnesus to Leucas, the same distance from Leucas to Corcyra, and again the same from Corcyra to the Ceraunian Mountains, and the length of the whole Illyrian coast on the right as far as Iapydia from the Ceraunian mountains onwards 6150 stades. So that both the above statements are false, both that of Dicaearchus that it is 7000 stades from the Straits to the Pillars and the one which you think you have proved. For almost every one is agreed that the direct distance by sea amounts to 12,000 stades.

How, then, can we avoid thinking that Eratosthenes in the nonsense he tells has surpassed even Antiphanes of Berga and rendered it impossible for any subsequent writer to excel him in absurdity?

7 Ἑξῆς δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους ἐπανορθοῖ, τὰ
2 μὲν εὖ, τὰ δὲ χεῖρον λέγων ἢ ἐκεῖνος. ἐξ Ἰθάκης
μὲν γὰρ εἰς Κόρκυραν τριακοσίους εἰπόντος,
πλείους φησὶν εἶναι τῶν ἐνακοσίων, ἐξ Ἐπιδάμνου
δὲ εἰς Θεσσαλονίκειαν ἐνακοσίους ἀποδόντος,
3 πλείους τῶν δισχιλίων φησί. ταῦτα μὲν εὖ, ἀπὸ
δὲ Μασσαλίας ἐπὶ στήλας λέγοντος ἑπτακισχιλίους,
ἀπὸ δὲ Πυρήνης ἑξακισχιλίους, αὐτὸς λέγει χεῖρον
πλείους ἢ ἐνακισχιλίους τοὺς ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας,
ἀπὸ δὲ Πυρήνης μικρὸν ἐλάττους ἢ ὀκτακισχιλίους·
4 ἐγγυτέρω γὰρ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκεῖνος εἴρηκεν. οἱ
γὰρ νῦν ὁμολογοῦσιν, εἴ τις τὰς τῶν ὁδῶν ἀνωμαλίας
ὑποτέμνοιτο, μὴ μείζω τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων σταδίων
εἶναι τὸ μῆκος τὴν σύμπασαν Ἰβηρίαν ἀπὸ
5 Πυρήνης ἕως τῆς ἑσπερίου πλευρᾶς. ὁ δ' αὐτὸν
τὸν Τάγον ποταμὸν ὀκτακισχιλίων τίθησι τὸ
μῆκος ἀπὸ τῆς πηγῆς μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν, οὐ
δήπου τὸ σὺν τοῖς σκολιώμασιν—οὐ γὰρ γεωγρα-
φικὸν τοῦτο—ἀλλ' ἐπ' εὐθείας λέγων· καίτοι γε
ἀπὸ Πυρήνης αἱ τοῦ Τάγου πηγαὶ πλέον διέχουσιν
6 ἢ χιλίους σταδίους. πάλιν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ὀρθῶς
ἀποφαίνεται ὅτι ἀγνοεῖ τὰ Ἰβηρικὰ ὁ Ἐρατοσθένης
καὶ διότι περὶ αὐτῆς ἔσθ' ὅπου τὰ μαχόμενα ἀπο-
7 φαίνεται, ὅς γε μέχρι Γαδείρων ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν
περιοικεῖσθαι φήσας <τὰ> ἔξωθεν αὐτῆς, εἴ γε τὰ
πρὸς δύσιν τῆς Εὐρώπης μέχρι Γαδείρων ἔχουσιν
ἐκεῖνοι, τούτων ἐκλαθόμενος κατὰ τὴν τῆς Ἰβηρίας
8 περίοδον τῶν Γαλατῶν οὐδαμοῦ μέμνηται. τὸ
<δὲ> μῆκος τῆς Εὐρώπης ὅτι ἔλαττόν ἐστι τοῦ
συνάμφω τῆς τε Λιβύης καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐκθείς,
9 οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὴν σύγκρισιν ποιεῖται. τὸ μὲν γὰρ

(Strabo ii. 4. 4, C 106.)

7. Next Polybius corrects Eratosthenes, in some cases rightly but in others making worse mistakes himself. For while Eratosthenes says it is 300 stades from Ithaca to Corcyra, Polybius says it is more than 900, and while Eratosthenes gives the distance from Epidamnus to Thessalonica as 900 stades, Polybius says it is above 2000. In these two cases he is right, but when, Eratosthenes having said that it is 7000 stades from Marseilles to the Pillars and 6000 from the Pyrenees to the Pillars, Polybius makes a worse mistake in giving these distances as 9000 and nearly 8000 respectively, Eratosthenes' statement being nearer the truth. For it is now generally agreed that the width of the whole of Spain from the Pyrenees to its western coast is as the crow flies not more than 6000 stades. But Polybius says that the length of the Tagus alone from its source to its mouth is 8000 stades, not I suppose reckoning its windings—for that is not correct in geography—but meaning in a straight line. And yet the distance of the source of the Tagus from the Pyrenees is more than 1000 stades. Again, he is right in saying that Eratosthenes is mistaken about Spain, and that in some cases his statements about it are evidently contradictory. Eratosthenes indeed says that the further side of Spain as far as Gades is surrounded by Gaulish inhabitants, in which case if the Gauls inhabit the outer side of Europe as far as Gades, why forgetting this does he in his detailed description of Spain never mention Gauls? And when he states that the length of Europe is less than that of Africa and Asia combined he makes a false comparison.

στόμα τὸ κατὰ στήλας φησὶν ὅτι κατὰ τὴν ἰσ-
10 ημερινὴν δύσιν ἐστίν, ὁ δὲ Τάναϊς ῥεῖ ἀπὸ θερινῆς
ἀνατολῆς.

11 Προπεπτωκυίας δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἄκραις πλείοσι,
βέλτιον μὲν οὗτος εἴρηκε περὶ αὐτῶν Ἐρατο-
12 σθένους, οὔπω δὲ ἱκανῶς. ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ τρεῖς ἔφη,
τὴν ἐπὶ τὰς στήλας καθήκουσαν, ἐφʼ ἧς ἡ Ἰβηρία,
καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν πορθμόν, ἐφʼ ἧς ἡ Ἰταλία, καὶ
τρίτην τὴν κατὰ Μαλέας, ἐφʼ ἧς τὰ μεταξὺ τοῦ
Ἀδρίου καὶ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πάντʼ ἔθνη καὶ τοῦ
13 Τανάιδος· οὗτος δὲ τὰς μὲν δύο τὰς πρώτας ὁμοίως
ἐκτίθεται, τρίτην δὲ τὴν κατὰ Μαλέας καὶ Σούνιον,
ἐφʼ ἧς ἡ Ἑλλὰς πᾶσα καὶ ἡ Ἰλλυρὶς καὶ τῆς
14 Θρᾴκης τινά, τετάρτην δὲ τὴν κατὰ τὴν Θρακίαν
χερρόνησον, ἐφʼ ἧς τὰ κατὰ Σηστὸν καὶ Ἄβυδον
στενά—ἔχουσι δʼ αὐτὴν Θρᾷκες—πέμπτην δὲ τὴν
κατὰ τὸν Κιμμερικὸν Βόσπορον καὶ τὸ στόμα τῆς
Μαιώτιδος.

IV. De Lusitania

8 Πολύβιος δʼ ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης ἐν τετάρτῃ καὶ
τριακοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν περὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ
Λυσιτανίας χώρας διαλεγόμενός φησιν ὅτι βάλανοί
εἰσι κατὰ βάθος ἐν τῇ αὐτόθι θαλάττῃ πεφυτευμέναι,
ὧν τὸν καρπὸν σιτουμένους τοὺς θύννους πιαίνε-
2 σθαι. διόπερ οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι τις λέγων ὗς εἶναι
θαλαττίους τοὺς θύννους.

3 Λέγει δʼ ὁ Πολύβιος καὶ μέχρι τῆς Λατίνης ἐκ-
πίπτειν τὴν βάλανον ταύτην, εἰ μὴ ἄρα, φησί,
καὶ ἡ Σαρδὼ φέρει καὶ ἡ πλησιόχωρος ταύτῃ.

For he says that the Strait between the Pillars lies due west while the Tanaïs flows from south-east.

(*Id.* ii. 4. 8, C 108.)

There are several peninsulas jutting out from Europe, and Polybius has given a better description of them than Eratosthenes, but not an adequate one. The latter says there are three, that which runs down to the Pillars and is occupied by Spain, that running down to the Straits and occupied by Italy, and thirdly that terminated by Cape Malea and comprising all the peoples between the Adriatic and the Euxine and Tanaïs. Polybius agrees about the two first, but makes the third that reaching to Malea and Sunium, occupied by the whole of Greece, by Illyria and parts of Thrace, the fourth being the Thracian Chersonese, on which is the Strait between Sestus and Abydus, inhabited by Thracians, and the fifth that of the Cimmerian Bosporus and the mouth of the Palus Maeotis.

IV. On Lusitania

(From Athenaeus vii. p. 302 e.)

8. Polybius of Megalopolis in the Thirty-Fourth Book of his *Histories*, in speaking of that portion of Iberia called Lusitania, says that there are oak-trees planted deep in the sea, on the fruit of which the tunnies feed and get fat. So that we should not be wrong in calling the tunnies sea-hogs.

(Strabo iii. 2. 7, C 145.)

Polybius says that these acorns are carried as far as Latium and washed up, unless indeed, he adds. Sardinia too and that neighbourhood produce them.

4 Τὴν κατὰ Λυσιτανίαν—χώρα δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη τῆς Ἰβηρίας, ἣν νῦν Ῥωμαῖοι Σπανίαν ὀνομάζουσι—διηγούμενος εὐδαιμονίαν Πολύβιος ὁ Μεγαλοπολίτης . . . ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν φησιν ὡς αὐτόθι διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἀέρος εὐκρασίαν καὶ τὰ ζῷα πολύγονα καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καρποὶ οὐδέποτε φθείρονται·
5 ῥόδα μὲν γὰρ αὐτόθι καὶ λευκόια καὶ ἀσπάραγοι καὶ τὰ παραπλήσια τούτοις οὐ πλεῖον διαλείπει
6 μηνῶν τριῶν, τὸ δὲ θαλάττιον ὄψον καὶ κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ κατὰ τὴν χρηστότητα καὶ κατὰ τὸ
7 κάλλος μεγάλην ἔχει διαφορὰν πρὸς τὸ γινόμενον ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς θαλάττῃ. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν κριθῶν Σικελικὸς μέδιμνός ἐστι δραχμῆς, ὁ δὲ τῶν
8 πυρῶν ἐννέα ὀβολῶν Ἀλεξανδρεινῶν· τοῦ δ' οἴνου δραχμῆς ὁ μετρητὴς καὶ ἔριφος ὁ μέτριος ὀβολοῦ καὶ λαγώς. τῶν δ' ἀρνῶν τριώβολον καὶ τετρώβολον ἡ τιμή. ὗς δὲ πίων ἑκατὸν μνᾶς ἄγων
9 πέντε δραχμῶν καὶ πρόβατον δυεῖν. τάλαντον δὲ σύκων τριῶν ὀβολῶν, μόσχος δραχμῶν πέντε
10 καὶ βοῦς ζύγιμος δέκα. τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀγρίων ζῴων κρέα σχεδὸν οὐδὲ κατηξιοῦτο τιμῆς, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπιδόσει καὶ χάριτι τὴν ἀλλαγὴν ποιοῦνται τούτων.

V. De Hispania

9 Τοὺς δ' ἐνοικοῦντας Τουρδητανούς **τε** καὶ Τουρδούλους προσαγορεύουσιν, οἱ μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς
2 νομίζοντες, οἱ δ' ἑτέρους· ὧν ἐστι καὶ Πολύβιος, συνοίκους φήσας τοῖς Τουρδητανοῖς πρὸς ἄρκτον τοὺς Τουρδούλους.

3 Τῇ δὲ τῆς χώρας εὐδαιμονίᾳ καὶ τὸ ἥμερον καὶ

(Athenaeus viii. p. 330 c.)

Polybius, in the Thirty-Fourth Book of his *Histories* speaking of the natural wealth of Lusitania (a district of Iberia, or, as the Romans now call it, Spain), tells us that owing to the favourable climate both men and animals are very prolific, and the land is constantly productive. For roses, white violets, asparagus, and similar plants only cease flowering for three months, and as for the sea-fish, in quantity, excellence, and beauty it is far superior to that in our own sea. The Sicilian medimnus of barley costs one drachma and that of wheat nine Alexandrian obols, the metreta of wine costs a drachma and a fair-sized kid or hare one obol. Lambs are three or four obols apiece, a fat pig weighing a hundred minae costs five drachmae and a sheep two. A talent's weight of figs can be had for three obols, a calf for five drachmae and a ploughing ox for ten. The flesh of wild animals is scarcely thought worth pricing, but is given away for nothing or exchanged.

V. On Spain

(Strabo iii. 1. 6, C 139.)

9. The inhabitants are known as Turdetani and Turduli, some considering them to be the same and others different. Among the latter is Polybius, who says that the Turduli are next to the Turdetani on the north.

(*Id.* iii. 2. 15, C 151.)

The fertility of their country results in the Turde-

τὸ πολιτικὸν συνηκολούθησε τοῖς Τουρδητανοῖς,
καὶ τοῖς Κελτικοῖς δὲ διὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν, ὡς δ'
εἴρηκε Πολύβιος, διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν.

4 Καὶ Δικαίαρχος δὲ καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ Πολύ-
βιος καὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων περὶ τὸν
πορθμὸν ἀποφαίνουσι τὰς στήλας.

5 Φησὶ δὲ ὁ Πολύβιος κρήνην ἐν τῷ Ἡρακλείῳ
τῷ ἐν Γαδείροις εἶναι, βαθμῶν ὀλίγων κατάβασιν
ἔχουσαν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, πότιμον, ἣν ταῖς παλιρροίαις
τῆς θαλάττης ἀντιπαθεῖν, κατὰ μὲν τὰς πλήμας
ἐκλείπουσαν, κατὰ δὲ τὰς ἀμπώτεις πληρουμένην.
6 αἰτιᾶται δ' ὅτι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ βάθους εἰς τὴν
ἐπιφάνειαν τῆς γῆς ἐκπῖπτον, καλυφθείσης μὲν
αὐτῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ κύματος κατὰ τὰς ἐπιβάσεις τῆς
θαλάττης, εἴργεται τῶν οἰκείων τοιούτων ἐξόδων,
ἀναστρέψαν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς ἐμφράττει τοὺς τῆς
7 πηγῆς πόρους καὶ ποιεῖ λειψυδρία· γυμνωθείσης
δὲ πάλιν εὐθυπορῆσαν ἐλευθεροῖ τὰς φλέβας τῆς
πηγῆς, ὥστ' ἀναβλύειν εὐπόρως.

8 Πολύβιος δὲ τῶν περὶ Καρχηδόνα Νέαν ἀργυ-
ρείων μνησθεὶς μέγιστα μὲν εἶναί φησι, διέχειν
δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίους, περιειληφότα
9 κύκλον τετρακοσίων σταδίων, ὅπου τέτταρας μυ-
ριάδας ἀνθρώπων μένειν τῶν ἐργαζομένων, ἀνα-
φέροντας τότε τῷ δήμῳ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καθ'
ἑκάστην ἡμέραν δισμυρίας καὶ πεντακισχιλίας
10 δραχμάς. τὴν δὲ κατεργασίαν τὴν μὲν ἄλλην
ἐῶ—μακρὰ γάρ ἐστι—, τὴν δὲ συρτὴν βῶλον τὴν
ἀργυρῖτίν φησι κόπτεσθαι καὶ κοσκίνοις εἰς ὕδωρ

tani as well as the Celts, owing to their proximity, or as Polybius says, owing to their kinship, having a quiet and orderly character.

(*Id.* iii. 5. 5, C 170.)

Dicaearchus, Eratosthenes, and Polybius and most Greeks place the Pillars at the Straits.

(*Id.* iii. 5. 7, C 172.)

Polybius says there is a spring in the temple of Hercules at Gades, a few steps leading down to the water, which is drinkable. It behaves in a contrary manner to the tide of the sea, disappearing at high tide and filling again at low water. The reason of this, he says, is that the air which comes from the depths to the surface of the earth is prevented, when the spring is covered by the sea as the tide advances, from finding its natural outlet, and is driven back to the interior, thus stopping up the passage of the spring and causing the flow of water to cease; but when the spring is uncovered again the air resumes its direct course and sets free the veins of the spring so that it bubbles up in abundance.

(*Id.* iii. 2. 10, C 147.)

Polybius, in speaking of the silver mines near New Carthage, says they are very extensive and are distant about twenty stades from the town, extending in a circle for four hundred stades. Here forty thousand miners lived who at that period produced for the Roman government a daily sum of twenty-five thousand drachmae. I say nothing of the working of the mines in other respects—for it is a long story—but the lumps of silver ore which are washed down by the streams are crushed, he says,

διαττᾶσθαι· κόπτεσθαι δὲ πάλιν τὰς ὑποστάσεις καὶ πάλιν διηθουμένας ἀποχεομένων τῶν ὑδάτων
11 κόπτεσθαι· τὴν δὲ πέμπτην ὑπόστασιν χωνευθεῖσαν, ἀποχυθέντος τοῦ μολίβδου, καθαρὸν τὸν ἄργυρον ἐξάγειν.

12 Πολύβιος δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἄναν καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ τῆς Κελτιβηρίας ῥεῖν φησι, διέχοντας ἀλλήλων ὅσον ἐνακοσίους σταδίους.

13 Πολύβιος δὲ τὰ τῶν Οὐακκαίων καὶ τῶν Κελτιβήρων ἔθνη καὶ χωρία διεξιὼν συλλέγει ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι καὶ Σεγεσάμαν καὶ Ἰντερκατίαν.

14 Τοιοῦτον δέ τινα ὑφίσταται τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ λαμπρότητι <οἵανπερ> Πολύβιος Ἴβηρός τινος
15 βασιλέως οἰκίαν. ὃν καὶ ἐζηλωκέναι λέγει τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων τρυφὴν πλὴν τοῦ τοὺς κρατῆρας ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκίας ἑστάναι πλήρεις οἴνου κριθίνου, ἀργυροῦς ὄντας καὶ χρυσοῦς.

VI. De Gallia

10 Πολύβιος δ᾽ ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ καὶ τριακοστῇ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν μετὰ τὴν Πυρήνην φησὶν ἕως τοῦ Νάρβωνος ποταμοῦ πεδίον εἶναι, δι᾽ οὗ φέρεσθαι ποταμοὺς Ἰλλέβεριν καὶ Ῥόσκυνον, ῥέοντας παρὰ πόλεις ὁμωνύμους, κατοικουμένας ὑπὸ Κελτῶν.
2 ἐν οὖν τῷ πεδίῳ τούτῳ εἶναι τοὺς λεγομένους
3 ἰχθῦς ὀρυκτούς. εἶναι δὲ τὸ πεδίον λεπτόγειον καὶ πολλὴν ἄγρωστιν ἔχον πεφυκυῖαν· ὑπὸ δὲ

and passed through sieves into water. The deposit is then again crushed and sifted and while the water is running off undergoes a third crushing. This is done five times in all and the fifth deposit, after the lead has been drained off, produces pure silver.

(*Id.* iii. 2. 11, C 148.)

Polybius says that this river (the Baetis) and the Anas flow from Celtiberia, being distant from each other about nine hundred stades.

(*Id.* iii. 4. 13, C 62; Athenaeus i. p. 16 c.)

Polybius in enumerating the tribes and cities of the Paccaei and Celtiberians counts among the other cities Segesama and Intercatia.

(Athenaeus i. p. 16 c.)

The construction and splendour of the house of Menelaus as described by Homer recalls Polybius's description of the house of a Spanish king, who, he says, vied with the Phaeacians in luxury, except that the bowls in the middle of the house which were made of gold and silver were full of beer.

VI. On Gaul

(*Id.* viii. p. 332 a.)

10. Polybius, in the Thirty-Fourth Book of his *Histories* says that after the Pyrenees as far as the river Narbo there is a plain traversed by the rivers Illeberis and Roscynus which pass towns of the same name inhabited by Celts. In this plain are found the so-called underground fish. The plain has a light soil and a great deal of agrostis grows there. Under the plants, when the soil consists

*ταύτην διάμμου τῆς γῆς οὔσης ἐπὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς
πήχεις, ὑπορρεῖν τὸ πλαζόμενον ἀπὸ τῶν ποταμῶν
4 ὕδωρ, μεθ᾿ οὗ ἰχθύες κατὰ τὰς παρεκχύσεις
ὑποτρέχοντες ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν χάριν τῆς τροφῆς—
φιληδοῦσι γὰρ τῇ τῆς ἀγρώστεως ῥίζῃ—πεποιήκασι
πᾶν τὸ πεδίον πλῆρες ἰχθύων ὑπογείων, οὓς ἀν-
ορύττοντες λαμβάνουσιν.*

5 *Περὶ δὲ τῶν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ στομάτων Πολύβιος
. . . ἐπιτιμᾷ Τιμαίῳ, φήσας εἶναι μὴ πεντάστομον,
ἀλλὰ δίστομον.*

6 *Ὁ δὲ Λίγηρ μεταξὺ Πικτόνων τε καὶ Ναμνιτῶν
ἐκβάλλει. πρότερον δὲ Κορβιλὼν ὑπῆρχεν ἐμ-
πόριον ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ ποταμῷ, περὶ ἧς εἴρηκε
Πολύβιος, μνησθεὶς τῶν ὑπὸ Πυθέου μυθολογη-
7 θέντων, ὅτι Μασσαλιωτῶν μὲν τῶν συμμιξάντων
Σκιπίωνι οὐδεὶς εἶχε λέγειν οὐδὲν μνήμης ἄξιον,
ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος περὶ τῆς Βρετταν-
νικῆς, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Νάρβωνος οὐδὲ τῶν ἐκ Κορ-
βιλῶνος, αἵπερ ἦσαν ἄρισται πόλεις τῶν ταύτῃ,
Πυθέας δ᾿ ἐθάρρησε τοσαῦτα ψεύσασθαι.*

8 *Φησὶ δὲ Πολύβιος καὶ ἰδιόμορφόν τι γεννᾶσθαι
ζῷον ἐν αὐταῖς, ἐλαφοειδὲς τὸ σχῆμα πλὴν αὐχένος
9 καὶ τριχώματος, ταῦτα δ᾿ ἐοικέναι κάπρῳ· ὑπὸ
δὲ τῷ γενείῳ πυρῆνα ἴσχειν ὅσον σπιθαμιαῖον
ἀκρόκομον, πωλικῆς κέρκου τὸ πάχος.*

10 *Ἔτι φησὶ Πολύβιος ἐφ᾿ ἑαυτοῦ κατ᾿ Ἀκυληίαν
μάλιστα ἐν τοῖς Ταυρίσκοις τοῖς Νωρικοῖς εὑρε-
θῆναι χρυσεῖον οὕτως εὐφυὲς ὥστ᾿ ἐπὶ δύο πόδας*

of sand to the depth of two or three cubits, the flood water of the rivers penetrates, and together with the water in flood-time certain fish descending in search of food—for they are very fond of the roots of the agrostis—make all the plain full of subterranean fish which they catch by digging them up.

(Strabo iv. 1. 8, C 183.)

As regards the mouths of the Rhone Polybius finds fault with Timaeus. It has not, he says, five mouths, but only two.

(*Id.* iv. 2. 1, C 190.)

The Loire falls into the sea between the Pictones and the Namnitae. There was formerly a trading port called Corbilo on this river, which Polybius mentions in talking of the fictions of Pytheas. He says that none of the Massaliots who met Scipio and were questioned by him had any particular information to give him about Britain, nor had the people from Narbo, or those from Corbilo, the finest cities in those parts, and yet Pytheas has boldly made so many false statements about it.

(*Id.* iv. 6. 10, C 207.)

Polybius says there is a peculiar animal in the Alps, like a deer in form except its neck and coat, which are like a boar's. Under its chin it has a hard growth about a span long and with hairs at the end, about as thick as a colt's tail.

(*Id.* iv. 6. 12, C 208.)

Polybius says that in his time a gold mine was discovered not far from Aquileia in the country of the Noric Taurisci, so easy to work that when the

ἀποσύραντι τὴν ἐπιπολῆς γῆν εὐθὺς ὀρυκτὸν
11 εὑρίσκεσθαι χρυσόν. τὸ δ' ὄρυγμα μὴ πλειόνων
12 ὑπάρχειν ἢ πεντεκαίδεκα ποδῶν. εἶναι δὲ τοῦ
χρυσοῦ τὸν μὲν αὐτόθεν καθαρόν, κυάμου μέγεθος
ἢ θέρμου, τοῦ ὀγδόου μέρους μόνον ἀφεψηθέντος,
τὸν δὲ δεῖσθαι μὲν χωνείας πλείονος, σφόδρα δὲ
13 λυσιτελοῦς. συνεργασαμένων δὲ τοῖς βαρβαροῖς
τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν ἐν διμήνῳ, παραχρῆμα τὸ χρυσίον
εὐωνότερον γενέσθαι τῷ τρίτῳ μέρει καθ' ὅλην
14 τὴν Ἰταλίαν. αἰσθομένους δὲ τοὺς Ταυρίσκους
μονοπωλεῖν ἐκβαλόντας τοὺς συνεργαζομένους.

15 Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἀνὴρ περὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν Ἄλπεων
καὶ τοῦ ὕψους λέγων παραβάλλει τὰ ἐν τοῖς
Ἕλλησιν ὄρη τὰ μέγιστα, τὸ Ταΰγετον, τὸ Λύ-
καιον, Παρνασσόν, Ὄλυμπον, Πήλιον, Ὄσσαν,
16 ἐν δὲ Θρᾴκῃ Αἷμον, Ῥοδόπην, Δούνακα. καί
φησιν ὅτι τούτων μὲν ἕκαστον μικροῦ δεῖν αὐθ-
ημερὸν εὐζώνοις ἀναβῆναι δυνατόν, αὐθημερὸν δὲ
17 καὶ περιελθεῖν, τὰς δ' Ἄλπεις οὐδ' ἂν πεμπταῖος
ἀναβαίη τις· τὸ δὲ μῆκός ἐστι δισχιλίων καὶ
διακοσίων σταδίων τὸ παρῆκον παρὰ τὰ πεδία.
18 τέτταρας δ' ὑπερβάσεις ὀνομάζει μόνον, διὰ
Λιγύων μὲν τὴν ἔγγιστα τῷ Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει,
εἶτα τὴν διὰ Ταυρίνων, ἣν Ἀννίβας διῆλθεν, εἶτα
τὴν διὰ Σαλασσῶν, τετάρτην δὲ τὴν διὰ Ῥαιτῶν,
19 ἁπάσας κρημνώδεις. λίμνας δὲ εἶναί φησιν ἐν
τοῖς ὄρεσι πλείους μέν, τρεῖς δὲ μεγάλας, ὧν ἡ
μὲν Βήνακος ἔχει μῆκος πεντακοσίων σταδίων,
πλάτος δὲ <ἑκατὸν> τριάκοντα, ἐκρεῖ δὲ ποταμὸς
20 Μίγκιος· ἡ δ' ἑξῆς Λάριος τετρακοσίων, πλάτος
δὲ στενωτέρα τῆς πρότερον, ἐξίησι δὲ ποταμὸν

earth on the surface was scraped off to the depth of two feet the diggers found gold at once. The deposit was not deeper than fifteen feet. The gold consisted partly of nuggets as big as a bean or a lupine, which were pure gold when the eighth part only had been smelted off, and partly of stuff which required a good deal of smelting but was very rich. After the Italians had been working it together with the natives for two months, the price of gold throughout Italy at once fell by one-third. But the Taurisci, when aware of this, expelled the other workers and made a monopoly of it.

(*Id.*)

Polybius also in talking of the size and height of the Alps compares with them the greatest mountains in Greece, Taygetus, Lycaeum, Parnassus, Olympus, Pelion and Ossa, and Haemus, Rhodope, and Dunax in Thrace. He says that each of these can be ascended by a pedestrian in about one day and that the circuit of each may be made in the same time, but it takes at least five days to ascend the Alps, and the length of that part of the chain which rises from the plain is two thousand two hundred stades. He only mentions four passes, one through Liguria nearest the Tyrrhenian Sea, that through the country of the Taurini, which Hannibal crossed, that through the country of the Salassi, and that through Rhaetia, all very steep. He says there are several lakes in the mountains, three of them very large, Benacus (Garda) being five hundred stades long and thirty in breadth, the river Mincius flowing from it. Next comes Larius (Como), four hundred stades in length but narrower than the

21 τὸν Ἀδούαν· τρίτη δὲ Οὐερβανὸς μῆκος ἐγγὺς τριακοσίων σταδίων, πλάτος δὲ τριάκοντα, ποταμὸν δὲ ἐξίησι μέγαν Τίκινον. πάντες δ' εἰς τὸν Πάδον συρρέουσι.

VII. De Italia

11 Πολύβιος δὲ διάφορον οἶνον ἐν Καπύῃ φησὶ γίνεσθαι τὸν ἀναδενδρίτην καλούμενον, ᾧ μηδένα συγκρίνεσθαι.

2 Φησὶ δὲ Πολύβιος πεζῇ μὲν εἶναι τὴν παραλίαν τὴν ἀπὸ Ἰαπυγίας μέχρι πορθμοῦ καὶ τρισχιλίων σταδίων, κλύζεσθαι δ' αὐτὴν τῷ Σικελικῷ πελάγει, πλέοντι δὲ καὶ πεντακοσίων δέουσαν.

3 Τῆς δὲ Τυρρηνίας μῆκος μὲν τὸ μέγιστον εἶναί φασι τὴν παραλίαν ἀπὸ Λούνης μέχρι Ὠστίων δισχιλίων που καὶ πεντακοσίων σταδίων· πλάτος δὲ τοῦ ἡμίσους ἔλαττον τὸ πρὸς τοῖς ὄρεσιν. εἰς μὲν οὖν Πίσας ἀπὸ Λούνης πλείους τῶν τετρακοσίων σταδίων εἰσίν, ἐντεῦθεν δ' εἰς Οὐολατέρρας διακόσιοι ὀγδοήκοντα, πάλιν δ' ἐνθένδε εἰς Ποπλώνιον διακόσιοι ἑβδομήκοντα, ἐκ δὲ Ποπλωνίου εἰς Κόσαν ἐγγὺς ὀκτακόσιοι, οἱ δὲ ἑξακόσιοί φασι. Πολύβιος δ' οὐκ εὖ καὶ τοὺς πάντας χιλίους τριακοσίους τριάκοντα λέγει.

4 Αἰθάλη, νῆσος Τυρσηνῶν . . . Πολύβιος δ' ἐν τριακοστῇ τετάρτῃ λέγει Αἰθάλειαν τὴν Λῆμνον καλεῖσθαι.

5 Καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὸν Κρατῆρα, ἀπὸ τοῦ Μισηνοῦ μέχρι τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, δυεῖν ἀκρωτηρίων, κολπού-

last, the Adda flowing from it. The third is Verbanus (Maggiore), three hundred stades long and thirty broad, from which a large river, the Ticinus, flows. All these streams fall into the Po.

VII. On Italy

(Athenaeus i. p. 31 d.)

11. Polybius says that the wine made in Capua from trellised vines is particularly good and no other can be compared with it.

(Strabo v. 1. 3, C 211.)

Polybius says the coast from Iapygia to the straits measures by road three thousand stades and is washed by the Sicilian sea. By sea the distance is less than five hundred stades.

(*Id.* v. 2. 5, C 222.)

The extreme length of the coast of Etruria they say from Luna to Ostia is 2500 stades, the extreme breadth near the hills is less than half this. It is more than 400 stades from Luna to Pisa, from Pisa to Volaterra 280 stades and from there to Populonia 270. From Populonia to Cosa it is nearly 800 or as some say 600. Polybius is wrong in giving the whole length as 1330 stades.

(Steph. Byzantius.)

Aethale, an island off Etruria. Polybius in his Thirty-Fourth Book says that Lemnos was called Aethaleia.

(Strabo v. 4. 3, C 242.)

They call the bay which is formed by the two capes, Misenum and the temple of Minerva, the

μενον. ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτων τῶν ᾐόνων Καμπανία
πᾶσα ἵδρυται, πεδίον εὐδαιμονέστατον τῶν ἁπάν-
6 των . . . Ἀντίοχος μὲν οὖν φησι τὴν χώραν
ταύτην Ὀπικοὺς οἰκῆσαι, τούτους δὲ καὶ Αὔσονας
7 καλεῖσθαι. Πολύβιος δ' ἐμφαίνει δύο ἔθνη νομίζων
ταῦτα· Ὀπικοὺς γάρ φησι καὶ Αὔσονας οἰκεῖν
τὴν χώραν ταύτην περὶ τὸν Κρατῆρα.

8 Πολύβιος δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰαπυγίας μεμιλιάσθαι
φησί, καὶ εἶναι μίλια πεντακόσια ἑξήκοντα δύο
εἰς . . . Σίλαν πόλιν, ἐντεῦθεν δ' εἰς Ἀκυληίαν
ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα ὀκτώ.

9 Μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὸ Λακίνιον, Ἥρας ἱερόν,
πλούσιόν ποτε ὑπάρξαν καὶ πολλῶν ἀναθημάτων
10 μεστόν. τὰ διάρματα δ' οὐκ εὐκρινῶς λέγεται·
πλὴν ὥς γε ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ σταδίους ἀπὸ πορθμοῦ
μέχρι Λακινίου Πολύβιος ἀποδίδωσι χιλίους καὶ
11 τριακοσίους, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ δίαρμα εἰς ἄκραν
Ἰαπυγίαν ἑπτακοσίους.

12 Πολύβιος δὲ τῶν τριῶν κρατήρων τὸν μὲν κατερ-
13 ρυηκέναι φησὶν ἐκ μέρους, τοὺς δὲ συμμένειν· τὸν
δὲ μέγιστον τὸ χεῖλος ἔχειν περιφερὲς ὂν πέντε
σταδίων, κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ συνάγεσθαι εἰς πεντή-
14 κοντα ποδῶν διάμετρον· καθ' οὗ βάθος εἶναι τὸ
μέχρι θαλάττης σταδιαῖον, ὥστε καθορᾶν ταῖς
15 νηνεμίαις. ἐὰν μὲν οὖν νότος μέλλῃ πνεῖν, ἀχλὺν
ὁμιχλώδη καταχεῖσθαι κύκλῳ φησὶ τῆς νησῖδος,
16 ὥστε μηδὲ τὴν Σικελίαν ἄπωθεν φαίνεσθαι· ὅταν
δὲ βορέας, φλόγας καθαρὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ λεχθέντος
κρατῆρος εἰς ὕψος ἐξαίρεσθαι καὶ βρόμους ἐκ-
πέμπεσθαι μείζους· τὸν δὲ ζέφυρον μέσην τινὰ ἔχειν
17 τάξιν. τοὺς δ' ἄλλους κρατῆρας ὁμοειδεῖς μὲν

"Crater." Above this coast lies the whole of Campania, the most fertile of all plains. Antiochus says this region was inhabited by the Opici, who were also called Ausones. Polybius, however, evidently regards them as two nations, for he says that this region near the Crater is inhabited by Opici and Ausones.

(*Id.* vi. 3. 10, C 285.)

Polybius says that from Iapygia the road has milestones. It is 560 miles to Sila (?), and from there to Aquileia 178.

(*Id.* vi. 1. 4, C 261.)

After these capes comes the Lacinium, the temple of Juno, once very rich and full of numerous offerings. The distances are not stated exactly. Polybius, however, speaking roughly, gives the distance from the Straits to the Lacinium as 1300 stades and from thence to the headland of Iapygia as 700.

(*Id.* vi. 2. 10, C 276.)

Of the three craters of the Holy Island of Vulcan Polybius says one has partly collapsed, but the others are entire. The edge of the largest is circular and is five stades in circumference. It gradually contracts to a diameter of fifty feet. At this spot the height straight down to the sea is one stade, so that in calm weather the sea is visible. When the south wind is going to blow, a thick haze gathers all round the island so that not even Sicily is visible; but when the north wind is going to blow clear flames spring up to some height from the crater I was speaking of and louder rumblings than usual issue from it. The signs foretelling a west wind are half way between the two. The other craters are similar, but the

18 εἶναι, τῇ δὲ βίᾳ λείπεσθαι τῶν ἀναφυσημάτων· ἔκ
τε δὴ τῆς διαφορᾶς τῶν βρόμων καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πόθεν
ἄρχεται τὰ ἀναφυσήματα καὶ αἱ φλόγες καὶ αἱ
λιγνύες προσημαίνεσθαι καὶ τὸν εἰς ἡμέραν τρίτην
19 πάλιν μέλλοντα ἄνεμον πνεῖν. τῶν γοῦν ἐν
Λιπάραις γενομένης ἀπλοίας προειπεῖν τινάς φησι
τὸν ἐσόμενον <ἄνεμον> καὶ μὴ διαψεύσασθαι.
20 ἀφ' οὗ δὴ τὸ μυθωδέστατον δοκοῦν εἰρῆσθαι τῷ
ποιητῇ οὐ μάτην φαίνεσθαι λεχθέν, ἀλλ' αἰνιξα-
μένου τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὅταν φῇ ταμίαν τῶν ἀνέμων
τὸν Αἴολον.

VIII. De Thracia, Macedonia, Graecia

12 Καὶ ἄλλα δ' οὐ πιστὰ λέγει, τό τε συντετρῆσθαι
τὰ πελάγη . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ εὑρίσκεσθαι κέραμόν τε
Χῖον καὶ Θάσιον ἐν τῷ Νάρωνι, καὶ τὸ ἄμφω
κατοπτεύεσθαι τὰ πελάγη ἀπό τινος ὄρους, καὶ
τῶν νήσων τῶν Λιβυρνίδων . . . τιθείς, ὥστε
κύκλον ἔχειν σταδίων καὶ πεντακοσίων, καὶ τὸ
τὸν Ἴστρον ἑνὶ τῶν στομάτων εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν
2 ἐμβάλλειν. τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἐρατοσθένους
ἔνια παρακούσματά ἐστι λαοδογματικά, καθάπερ
Πολύβιός φησι καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
λέγων συγγραφέων.

2[a] Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἡ
Ἐγνατία ἐστὶν ὁδὸς πρὸς ἕω, βεβηματισμένη
κατὰ μίλιον καὶ κατεστηλωμένη μέχρι Κυψέλων
καὶ Ἕβρου ποταμοῦ· μιλίων δ' ἐστὶ πεντακοσίων
3 τριάκοντα πέντε. λογιζομένῳ δέ, ὡς μὲν οἱ
πολλοί, τὸ μίλιον ὀκταστάδιον τετρακισχίλιοι ἂν
εἶεν στάδιοι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς διακόσιοι ὀγδοήκοντα,
4 ὡς δὲ Πολύβιος, προστιθεὶς τῷ ὀκτασταδίῳ δί-

force of their discharge is less. And he states that from the difference of the rumblings, and from the direction from which the discharges and the smoke and flame come, one can foretell from what quarter the wind will blow even three days later. At least some of the people in Lipara, he says, when wind-bound, foretold what wind would blow and were not wrong. So that what seems to us Homer's most mythical statement, when he calls Aeolus the dispenser of the winds, was not quite an idle tale, but darkly hinted at the truth.

VIII. On Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece

(Strabo vii. 5. 9, C 317.)

12. Among other improbable things Theopompus states that the Ionian Sea and the Adriatic have an underground connexion, Chian and Thasian pottery being found in the Naro, and again that the two seas are visible from a certain mountain, and that the Liburnian islands have a circumference of as much as 500 stades, and that one of the mouths of the Danube falls into the Adriatic. These and some assertions of Eratosthenes are mere vulgar errors, as Polybius says in speaking of the latter and other writers.

(*Id.* vii. 7. 4, C 322.)

From Apollonia the Via Egnatia runs east to Macedonia. It has been measured and marked with milestones as far as Cypsela and the river Hebrus, the distance being 535 miles. If we reckon the mile, as most people do, at 8 stades, this makes 4280 stades, but if like Polybius we add to the 8 stades 2 plethra,

πλεθρον, ὅ ἐστι τρίτον σταδίου, προσθετέον ἄλλους
σταδίους ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα ὀκτώ, τὸ τρίτον τοῦ
5 τῶν μιλίων ἀριθμοῦ. συμβαίνει δ᾽ ἀπὸ ἴσου
διαστήματος συμπίπτειν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν τούς
τ᾽ ἐκ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας ὁρμηθέντας καὶ τοὺς ἐξ
6 Ἐπιδάμνου. ἡ μὲν οὖν πᾶσα Ἐγνατία καλεῖται,
ἡ δὲ πρώτη ἐπὶ Κανδαουίας λέγεται, ὄρους Ἰλ-
λυρικοῦ, διὰ Λυχνιδοῦ πόλεως καὶ Πυλῶνος,
τόπου ὁρίζοντος ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ τήν τε Ἰλλυρίδα καὶ
7 τὴν Μακεδονίαν. ἐκεῖθεν δ᾽ ἐστὶ παρὰ Βαρ-
νοῦντα διὰ Ἡρακλείας καὶ Λυγκηστῶν καὶ
Ἐορδῶν εἰς Ἔδεσσαν καὶ Πέλλαν μέχρι Θεσ-
8 σαλονικείας· μίλια δ᾽ ἐστί, φησὶ Πολύβιος, ταῦτα
διακόσια ἑξήκοντα ἑπτά.
9 Ὅτι ἐκ Περίνθου εἰς Βυζάντιόν εἰσιν ἑξακόσιοι
τριάκοντα, ἀπὸ δὲ Ἕβρου καὶ Κυψέλων εἰς Βυ-
ζάντιον μέχρι Κυανέων τρισχίλιοι ἑκατόν, ὥς
φησιν Ἀρτεμίδωρος, τὸ δὲ σύμπαν μῆκος ἀπὸ
Ἰονίου κόλπου τοῦ κατὰ Ἀπολλωνίαν μέχρι
10 Βυζαντίου ἑπτακισχίλιοι τριακόσιοι εἴκοσι· προσ-
τίθησι δ᾽ ὁ Πολύβιος καὶ ἄλλους ἑκατὸν ὀγδοή-
κοντα, τὸ τρίτον τοῦ σταδίου προσλαμβάνων
ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀκτὼ τοῦ μιλίου σταδίοις.
11 Ἡ δὲ περίμετρος μὴ κατακολπίζοντι τετρακισ-
χιλίων σταδίων, ὡς Πολύβιος.
12 Πολυβίου δ᾽ εἰρηκότος τὸ ἀπὸ Μαλεῶν ἐπὶ τὰς
ἄρκτους μέχρι τοῦ Ἴστρου διάστημα περὶ μυρίους
σταδίους, εὐθύνει τοῦτο ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος οὐκ ἀ-
τόπως . . . κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνον δὴ συμβαίνει τὸ ἐκ <τοῦ
Ἴστρου ἐπὶ Μαλ>έας ἑξακισχιλίων πεντακοσίων.
αἴτιον δὲ τούτου τὸ μὴ τὴν σύντομον καταμετρεῖν
ἀλλὰ τὴν τυχοῦσαν, ἣν ἐπορεύθη τῶν στρατηγῶν τις.

i.e. the third of a stade, we must add 678 stades, the third of the number of miles. Travellers starting from Apollonia and from Epidamnus strike this road at an equal distance from their point of departure. The whole road is called Via Egnatia, but the first section passing through the town of Lychnidus and through Pylon, the point on the road which separates Illyria from Macedonia, derives its name from Candavia, a mountain of Illyria. Thence it passes along Mt. Barnus through Heraclia Lyncestis, and Eordea to Edessa and Pella and finally Thessalonica. The length of this part is according to Polybius 267 miles.

(Strabo, epit. vii. 57.)

From Perinthus to Byzantium the distance is 630 stades, from the Hebrus and Cypsela to Byzantium as far as the Cyanean rocks it is 3100 according to Artemidorus, and the whole distance from the Ionian gulf at Apollonia to Byzantium is 7320 stades, Polybius adding a further 180 stades, as he reckons the mile at $8\frac{1}{3}$ stades.

(*Id.* viii. 21, C 335.)

The circumference of the Peloponnesus sailing from cape to cape is 4000 stades according to Polybius.

(*Id.* viii. 8. 5, C 335.)

Polybius says that the distance due north from Cape Malea to the Danube is about 1000 stades, but Artemidorus corrects him, and no wonder. According to him the distance from the Danube to Malea is 6500 stades. The reason of the discrepancy is that Polybius does not reckon the distance in a straight line, but by the route some general chanced to follow.

IX. De Asia

13 Τὰ δ' ἐπ' εὐθείας τούτοις μέχρι τῆς Ἰνδικῆς τὰ αὐτὰ κεῖται καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ἀρτεμιδώρῳ, ἅπερ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Ἐρατοσθένει. λέγει δὲ καὶ Πολύβιος περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ μάλιστα δεῖν πιστεύειν ἐκείνῳ.

X. De Alexandria, Aegypti urbe

14 Ὁ γοῦν Πολύβιος γεγονὼς ἐν τῇ πόλει βδελύτ-
2 τεται τὴν τότε κατάστασιν καί φησι τρία γένη
τὴν πόλιν οἰκεῖν, τό τε Αἰγύπτιον καὶ ἐπιχώριον
3 φῦλον, ὀξὺ καὶ πολιτικόν, καὶ τὸ μισθοφορικόν,
βαρὺ καὶ πολὺ καὶ ἀνάγωγον· ἐξ ἔθους γὰρ
παλαιοῦ ξένους ἔτρεφον τοὺς τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντας,
ἄρχειν μᾶλλον ἢ ἄρχεσθαι δεδιδαγμένους διὰ τὴν
4 τῶν βασιλέων οὐδένειαν. τρίτον δ' ἦν γένος
τὸ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων, οὐδ' αὐτὸ εὐκρινῶς πολι-
τικὸν διὰ τὰς αὐτὰς αἰτίας, κρεῖττον δ' ἐκείνων
5 ὅμως· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μιγάδες, Ἕλληνες ὅμως ἀν-
έκαθεν ἦσαν καὶ ἐμέμνηντο τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλ-
6 λήνων ἔθους. ἠφανισμένου δὲ καὶ τούτου τοῦ
πλήθους, μάλιστα ὑπὸ τοῦ Εὐεργέτου τοῦ Φύσκω-
νος, καθ' ὃν ἧκεν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ὁ Πολύβιος
7 —καταστασιαζόμενος γὰρ ὁ Φύσκων πλεονάκις
τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐφίει τὰ πλήθη καὶ διέφθειρε—,
8 τοιούτων δή, φησίν, ὄντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει,
λοιπὸν ἦν τῷ ὄντι τὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ

Αἴγυπτόνδ' ἰέναι δολιχὴν ὁδὸν ἀργαλέην τε.

IX. On Asia

(*Id.* xiv. 2. 29, C 663.)

13. Artemidorus agrees with Eratosthenes in his estimate of the direct distance from the Euphrates to India. Polybius says that we should mainly rely on Artemidorus for information about India.

X. On Alexandria

(*Id.* xvii. 1. 12, C 797.)

14. Polybius at least, who visited the city, was disgusted with its condition at the time. He says it is inhabited by three classes of people, first the native Egyptians, an acute and civilized race; secondly by the mercenaries, a numerous, rough, and uncultivated set, it being an ancient practice there to maintain a foreign armed force which owing to the weakness of the kings had learnt rather to rule than to obey; thirdly there were the Alexandrians themselves, a people not genuinely civilized for the same reason, but still superior to the mercenaries, for though they are mongrels they came from a Greek stock and had not forgotten Greek customs. But when this population had been nearly annihilated, chiefly by Euergetes Physcon, in whose reign Polybius came to Alexandria—for this king being frequently troubled by seditions exposed the populace to the onslaught of the soldiers and destroyed them —the city fell into such a state that afterwards Homer's line was really true—

To Egypt is a long and dangerous road.[a]

[a] Homer, *Od.* iv. 485.

B. FRAGMENTA LATINA

15 Polybius latitudinem Europae ab Italia ad oceanum scripsit [$\overline{\text{XI}}$] L M pass. esse, etiam tum inconperta magnitudine. Est autem ipsius Italiae, ut diximus, [$\overline{\text{XI}}$] XX M ad Alpis, unde per Lugdunum ad portum Morinorum Britannicum, qua videtur mensuram agere
2 Polybius, [$\overline{\text{XI}}$] LXVIIII.

Polybius a Goditano freto longitudinem directo cursu ad os Maeotis [$\overline{\text{XXXIIII}}$] XXXVII mil. D passuum prodidit, ab eodem initio ad orientem recto cursu Siciliam [$\overline{\text{XII}}$] L mil. passuum, Cretam CCCLXXV M passuum, Rhodum CLXXXVII M D passuum, Chelidonias tantundem, Cyprum CCXXV M passuum, inde Syriae Seleuciam Pieriam CXV mil. passuum, quae conputatio efficit [$\overline{\text{XXIII}}$] XL M passuum.

3 In ipso vero capite mox Baeticae ab ostio freti XXV mil. pass. Gadis, longa, ut Polybius scribit, XII mil., lata III mil. passuum. Abest a continente proxima parte minus pedes DCC, reliqua plus VII mil. passuum.

4 Ultra Siciliam quod est ad Salentinos Ausonium Polybius appellat.

5 At inter duos Bosporos, Thracium et Cimmerium, directo cursu, ut auctor est Polybius, D M pass. intersunt.

B. LATIN FRAGMENTS

(Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. 121.)

15. Polybius states that the breadth of Europe from Italy to the Ocean is 1150 miles, the true distance not having been determined at that date. For, as I said, the length of Italy as far as the Alps is 1120 miles and thence through Lyons to the British harbour of the Morini, which seems to be the distance measured by Polybius, 1169 miles.

(*Ibid.* vi. 206.)

Polybius says that the distance from the straits of Gades to the mouth of the Palus Maeotis is 3437 miles, from the same point in a direct line east to Sicily 1250 miles, thence to Crete 375 miles, thence to Rhodes 187 miles, thence to the Chelidonian islands the same, thence to Cyprus 225 miles, and thence to Seleucia Pieria in Syria 115 miles, the whole amounting to 2340 miles.

(*Ibid.* iv. 119.)

Not far at the very point of Baetica, twenty-five miles from the mouth of the strait is the island of Gades, 12 miles long and 3 miles broad according to Polybius. It is distant from the continent at the nearest point less than 700 feet, the distance of most of it being more than 7 miles.

(*Ibid.* iii. 75.)

The sea beyond Sicily as far as the Salentini is called by Polybius the Ausonian Sea.

(*Ibid.* iv. 77.)

Between the two Bospori, the Thracian and Cimmerian, the distance according to Polybius is 500 miles.

6 Agrippa totius Africae a mari Atlantico cum inferiore Aegypto [$\overline{\text{XXX}}$] L M passuum longitudinem, Polybius et Eratosthenes diligentissimi existimati ab oceano ad Carthaginem magnam [$\overline{\text{XI}}$] M passuum, ab ea Canopum, Nili proximum ostium, [$\overline{\text{XVI}}$] XXVIII M pass. fecerunt.

7 Scipione Aemiliano res in Africa gerente Polybius annalium conditor, ab eo accepta classe scrutandi illius orbis gratia circumvectus, prodidit a monte eo ad occasum versus saltus plenos feris, quas generat Africa, ad flumen Anatim CCCCLXXXXVI M passuum.

8 Ad proximam, quae minor est, a Carthagine CCC M pass. Polybius tradit, ipsum C M passuum aditu, CCC M ambitu.

9 Polybius in extrema Mauretania contra montem Atlantem a terra stadia VIII abesse prodidit Cernen.

16 Magnitudo dentium videtur quidem in templis praecipua, sed tamen in extremis Africae, qua confinis Aethiopiae est, postium vicem in domiciliis praebere, saepesque in his et pecorum stabulis pro palis elephantorum dentibus fieri Polybius tradidit auctore Gulusa regulo.

(Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 40.)

Agrippa gives the total length of Africa from the Atlantic and including lower Egypt as 3050 miles. Polybius and Eratosthenes, who are considered the most careful authorities, make it 1100 miles from the ocean to Carthage and 1628 miles from Carthage to Canopus, the most westerly mouth of the Nile.

(*Ibid.* v. 9.)

When Scipio Aemilianus was in command in Africa Polybius the historian went round in a squadron furnished by the general for the purpose of exploring that continent, and tells us that from Mt. Atlas to the west as far as the river Anatis for 496 miles there are woods full of those wild beasts that Africa produces.

(*Ibid.* v. 26.)

To the lesser Syrtis from Carthage it is according to Polybius 300 miles, the Syrtis itself being 100 miles from the shore and 300 miles in circumference.

(*Ibid.* vi. 199.)

Polybius states that Cerne is an island at the extremity of Mauretania over against Mt. Atlas, 8 miles distant from the shore.

(*Ibid.* viii. 47.)

16. The size of the elephants' tusks is chiefly to be observed in the temples, but still in the extreme parts of Africa which border on Aethiopia they are used in houses as door-posts, and palings round houses and stables are constructed of tusks, as Polybius tells us on the authority of the African prince Gulusa.

2 Polybius, Aemiliani comes, in senecta hominem ab his adpeti refert, quoniam ad persequendas feras vires non subpetant. Tunc obsidere Africae urbes, eaque de causa cruci fixos vidisse se cum Scipione, quia ceteri metu poenae similis absterrerentur eadem noxa.

3 Trogus auctor est circa Lyciam penicillos mollissimos nasci in alto, unde ablatae sint spongeae, Polybius super aegrum suspensos quietiores facere noctes.

(Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 47.)

Polybius, who accompanied Scipio Aemilianus, tells us that lions in their old age attack men, as they have no longer sufficient strength to pursue beasts. Then they haunt the neighbourhood of towns, and for this reason he and Scipio saw several hanging crucified, to deter the others from hurting men for fear of a similar penalty.

(*Ibid.* xxxi. 131.)

Trogus tells us that near Lycia very soft small sponges are produced at the bottom of the sea in the places whence sponges have been plucked. Polybius says that if they are hung above a sick man, his nights are quieter.

FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXV

I. Bellum Celtibericum

1 Πύρινος πόλεμος, ὁ Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τοὺς Κελτίβηρας συσταθείς. θαυμαστὴν γὰρ ἔσχε τὴν ἰδιό-
2 τητα τήν τε συνέχειαν τῶν ἀγώνων. τοὺς γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολέμους καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ὡς ἐπίπαν μία μάχη κρίνει, σπανίως δὲ δευτέρα, καὶ τὰς μάχας αὐτὰς εἷς καιρὸς ὁ κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον καὶ σύμπτωσιν τῆς δυνάμεως·
3 κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν πόλεμον τἀναντία συνέβαινε
4 τοῖς προειρημένοις. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ κινδύνους ὡς ἐπίπαν ἡ νὺξ διέλυε, τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὔτ᾽ εἴκειν ταῖς ψυχαῖς οὔτε παρακαθιέναι τοῖς σώμασι βουλομένων διὰ τὸν κόπον, ἀλλ᾽ ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς καὶ
5 μεταμελείας αὖθις ἄλλας ἀρχὰς ποιουμένων. τόν γε μὴν ὅλον πόλεμον καὶ τὴν συνέχειαν τῶν ἐκ παρατάξεως διακρίσεων ὁ χειμὼν ἐπὶ ποσὸν
6 διεῖργε. καθόλου γάρ, εἴ τις διανοηθείη πύρινον πόλεμον, οὐκ ἂν ἕτερον ἢ τοῦτον νοήσειε.

2 Ὅτι ἐπειδὴ οἱ Κελτίβηρες ἀνοχὰς ποιησάμενοι πρὸς Μάρκον Κλαύδιον τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐξαπέστειλαν τὰς πρεσβείας εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην, οὗτοι μὲν τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, καραδοκοῦντες τὴν

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXV

I. The Celtiberian War

(From Suidas.)

1. The war between the Romans and the Celtiberians was called the "fiery war," so remarkable was the uninterrupted character of the engagements. For while wars in Greece and Asia are as a rule decided by one battle, or more rarely by two, and while the battles themselves are decided in a brief space of time by the result of the first attack and encounter, in this war it was just the opposite. The engagements as a rule were only stopped by darkness, the combatants refusing either to let their courage flag or to yield to bodily fatigue, and ever rallying, recovering confidence and beginning afresh. Winter indeed alone put a certain check on the progress of the whole war and on the continuous character of the regular battles, so that on the whole if we can conceive a war to be fiery it would be this and no other one. 152-151 B.C.

2. After the Celtiberians had made a truce with Marcus Claudius Marcellus, the Roman commander, and had sent embassies to Rome, they remained inactive awaiting the decision of the senate, while

2 ἀπόφασιν τῆς συγκλήτου, Μάρκος δὲ στρατεύσας
εἰς τοὺς Λυσιτανοὺς καὶ τὴν Νερκόβρικα πόλιν
κατὰ κράτος ἑλὼν ἐν Κορδύβᾳ τὴν παραχειμασίαν
3 ἐποιεῖτο. τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην
παραγενομένων, τοὺς μὲν παρὰ τῶν Βελλῶν καὶ
Τίττων, ὅσοι τὰ Ῥωμαίων ᾑροῦντο, παρεδέξαντο
4 πάντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τοὺς δὲ παρὰ τῶν Ἀραυα-
κῶν πέραν τοῦ Τιβέρεως ἐκέλευσαν κατασκηνοῦν
διὰ τὸ πολεμίους ὑπάρχειν, ἕως βουλεύσωνται
5 περὶ τῶν ὅλων. γενομένου δὲ καιροῦ πρὸς
ἔντευξιν, κατὰ πόλιν ὁ στρατηγὸς εἰσῆγε τοὺς
6 συμμάχους. οἱ δὲ καίπερ ὄντες βάρβαροι . . .
διετίθεντο λόγους καὶ πάσας ἐξευκρινεῖν ἐπειρῶντο
7 τὰς διαφοράς, ὑποδεικνύντες ὡς, εἰ μὴ συστ<α-
λ>ήσονται καὶ τεύξονται τῆς ἁρμοζούσης κολάσεως
οἱ πεπολεμηκότες, παραυτίκα μέν, ἐπανελθόντων
τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν στρατοπέδων ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας,
ἐκ χειρὸς προσεπιθήσουσι τὴν δίκην αὐτοῖς, ὡς
8 προδόταις γεγονόσι, ταχὺ δὲ πάλιν αὐτοὶ κινήσουσι
πραγμάτων ἀρχήν, ἐὰν ἀνεπιτίμητοι διαφύγωσιν
ἐκ τῆς πρώτης ἁμαρτίας, ἑτοίμους δὲ πάντας πρὸς
καινοτομίαν ποιήσουσι τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν,
9 ὡς ἱκανοὶ γεγονότες ἀντίπαλοι Ῥωμαίοις. διόπερ
ἠξίουν ἢ μένειν τὰ στρατόπεδα κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν
καὶ διαβαίνειν καθ᾿ ἕκαστον ἔτος ὕπατον ἐφ-
εδρεύσοντα τοῖς συμμάχοις καὶ κολάσοντα τὰς
10 Ἀραυακῶν ἀδικίας, ἢ βουλομένους ἀπάγειν τὰς
δυνάμεις παραδειγματιστέον εἶναι τὴν τῶν προ-
ειρημένων ἐπανάστασιν, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἔτι ποιεῖν
11 θαρρῇ τὸ παραπλήσιον τούτοις. οἱ μὲν οὖν
Βελλῶν καὶ Τίττων συμμαχοῦντες Ῥωμαίοις
ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια διελέχθησαν.

Marcus after an expedition into Lusitania, in which he took by assault the city of Nercobrica, retired into winter quarters at Cordova. When the embassies arrived in Rome those from the Belli and Titti who had taken the side of Rome were all admitted into the city, but those from the Aravacae, as they were enemies, were ordered to encamp on the other side of the Tiber until a decision was arrived at about the whole question. When the time for their audience came the Praetor Urbanus first introduced the allies. Although foreigners they spoke at length and attempted to lay before the senate a clear statement of all the points in dispute, pointing out that if those who had taken up arms did not meet with proper chastisement they would at once take vengeance on themselves as having betrayed the cause, and if their former fault remained unpunished, very soon again commence disturbances and make the whole of Spain disposed to rebel, under the idea that they had proved themselves more than a match for the Romans. They therefore demanded either that the legions should remain in Spain and that a consul should proceed there every year to protect the allies and check the malpractices of the Aravacae, or if the senate desired to withdraw their forces, the revolt of the Aravacae should be punished in such an exemplary fashion that no one would dare to do the like again. Such was the substance of the speeches made by the Belli and Titti, the allies

12 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις εἰσῆγον τοὺς παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων.
13 οἱ δ' Ἀραυάκαι παρελθόντες κατὰ μὲν τὴν ὑπό-
κρισιν ἐχρῶντο τοῖς λόγοις ὑποπεπτωκότως καὶ
ταπεινῶς, τῇ γε μὴν προαιρέσει [ὡς] διέφαινον
14 οὐκ εἰκούσῃ τοῖς ὅλοις οὐδ' ἡττωμένῃ. καὶ
γὰρ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἄδηλα πολλάκις ὑπεδείκνυον
καὶ τὰς προγεγενημένας μάχας ἀμφιδηρίτους ποι-
οῦντες ἐν πάσαις ἔμφασιν ἀπέλειπον ὡς ἐπικυδε-
15 στέρων αὐτῶν γεγονότων. τέλος δ' ἦν τῶν λόγων·
εἰ μέν τι δεῖ ῥητὸν πρόστιμον ὑπομένειν τῆς
ἀγνοίας, ἀναδέχεσθαι τοῦτ' ἔφασαν, τελεσθέντος
δὲ τοῦ προστάγματος ἐπανάγειν ἠξίουν ἐπὶ τὰς
κατὰ Τεβέριον ὁμολογίας αὐτοῖς γενομένας πρὸς
τὴν σύγκλητον.

3 Οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ διακούσαντες ἀμφοτέρων
εἰσήγαγον τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου πρέσβεις.
2 θεωροῦντες δὲ καὶ τούτους ῥέποντας ἐπὶ τὴν
διάλυσιν καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν προσνέμοντα τὴν
αὑτοῦ γνώμην τοῖς πολεμίοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς
3 συμμάχοις, τοῖς μὲν Ἀραυάκαις ἔδωκαν καὶ τοῖς
συμμάχοις ἀπόκρισιν ὅτι Μάρκελλος ἀμφοτέροις
ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ διασαφήσει τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου γνώμην,
4 αὐτοὶ δὲ νομίσαντες τοὺς συμμάχους ἀληθῆ καὶ
συμφέροντα σφίσι λέγειν, τοὺς δ' Ἀραυάκας
ἀκμὴν μεγαλοφρονεῖν, τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν ἀποδει-
5 λιᾶν τὸν πόλεμον, ἐντολὰς ἔδωκαν δι' ἀπορρήτων
τοῖς παρ' ἐκείνου πρεσβευταῖς πολεμεῖν γενναίως
6 καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἀξίως. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον
ἐποίησαν κατάμονον, πρῶτον μὲν τῷ Μαρκέλλῳ
διαπιστήσαντες ἕτερον στρατηγὸν ἔμελλον δια-
7 πέμπειν εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν· ἤδη γὰρ ἔτυχον ὕπατοι
τότε καθεσταμένοι καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς παρειληφότες

of the Romans. The envoys of the hostile tribes were then introduced. The Aravacae when they presented themselves assumed in their speech a humble and submissive attitude, but made it evident that at heart they were neither disposed to make complete submission nor to accept defeat. For they more than once hinted at the uncertainty of Fortune, and by making out that the engagements that had taken place were hotly contested left the impression that in all of them they thought they themselves had fought more brilliantly than the Romans. The gist of the speeches was that if a fixed penalty were to be imposed on them for their error they would consent to pay it; but when they had complied with this they demanded that the Romans should revert to the terms of their convention with the senate in the time of Tiberius Gracchus.

3. After the senate had heard both parties, the legates from Marcellus were introduced. When the house saw that these also were pacifically inclined, and that the general himself was more disposed to favour the enemy than the allies, they replied to the Aravacae and to the allies, that Marcellus would inform both parties in Spain of the decision of the senate. But their private opinion being that what the allies said was both true and to the advantage of Rome, that the Aravacae still had a high opinion of themselves, and that the general was afraid of the war, they gave secret orders to the legates he had sent to continue to fight bravely and worthily of their country. Having thus determined to pursue the war, they first of all, as they distrusted Marcellus, were minded to send another general to Spain—for Aulus Postumius Albinus and Lucius Licinius

Αὖλος Ποστόμιος καὶ Λεύκιος Λικίννιος Λεύκολ-
8 λος. ἔπειτα περὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς ἐγίνοντο φιλοτίμως καὶ μεγαλομερῶς, νομίζοντες διὰ ταύτης τῆς πράξεως κριθήσεσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν·
9 κρατηθέντων μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πάντας ὑπέλαβον σφίσι ποιήσειν τὸ προσταττόμενον, ἀποστρεψαμένων δὲ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα φόβον οὐ μόνον Ἀραυάκας καταθαρρήσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας.

4 Ὅσῳ δὲ φιλοτιμότερον ἡ σύγκλητος διέκειτο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, τοσούτῳ σφίσι τὰ πράγματ'
2 ἀπέβαινε παραδοξότερα. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ Κοΐντου τοῦ τὸν πρότερον ἐνιαυτὸν στρατηγήσαντος ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ στρατευσαμένων ἠγγελκότων εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην τήν τε συνέχειαν τῶν ἐκ παρατάξεως κινδύνων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπολωλότων καὶ τὴν ἀνδρείαν τῶν Κελτιβήρων,
3 τοῦ δὲ Μαρκέλλου προφανῶς ἀποδειλιῶντος τὸν πόλεμον, ἐνέπεσέ τις πτοία τοῖς νέοις παράλογος, οἵαν οὐκ ἔφασαν οἱ πρεσβῦται γεγενημένην πρό-
4 τερον. εἰς γὰρ τοῦτο προύβη τὰ τῆς ἀποδειλιάσεως ὥστε μήτε χιλιάρχους προπορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοὺς ἱκανούς, ἀλλ' ἐλλείπειν τὰς χώρας, τὸ πρότερον εἰθισμένων πολλαπλασιόνων προπο-
5 ρεύεσθαι τῶν καθηκόντων, μήτε τοὺς εἰσφερομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων πρεσβευτὰς ὑπακούειν, οὓς
6 ἔδει πορεύεσθαι μετὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, τοὺς νέους διακλίνειν τὰς καταγραφὰς καὶ τοιαύτας πορίζεσθαι προφάσεις ἃς λέγειν μὲν αἰσχρὸν ἦν, ἐξετάζειν δ' ἀπρεπές, ἐπιτέμνειν δ'
7 ἀδύνατον. τέλος δὲ καὶ τῆς συγκλήτου καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐν ἀμηχανίαις ὄντων τί τὸ πέρας ἔσται

Lucullus had already been designated as consuls and had entered on their office—and in the next place began to make energetic and lavish preparations for the campaign, thinking that the future of Spain depended on its issue. For they supposed that if this enemy were vanquished, all others would submit to their authority, but that if the enemy could avert their present peril, not only would the Aravacae be encouraged to resist, but all the other tribes also.

4. But the more eager the senate was to pursue the war, the more alarming did they find the state of affairs. For since Quintus Fulvius Nobilior, their former commander in Spain, and the members of his force had spread the report in Rome of the constant succession of pitched battles, the great losses suffered by the Romans and the valour of the Celtiberians, and as Marcellus was evidently afraid of continuing the war, such an extraordinary panic took hold of the young recruits as their elders said they never remembered before. This fit of cowardice went so far, that neither did competent officers present themselves as military tribunes, but their posts were not filled, although formerly many more than the required number of qualified officers used to apply, nor were the legates, nominated by the consuls, who should have accompanied the general, willing to serve ; but the worst of all was that the young men avoided enrolment, finding such excuses as it was disgraceful to allege, unseemly to examine, and impossible to check. Finally, when both the senate and the magistrates were at a loss to know what would be

τῆς τῶν νέων ἀναισχυντίας—τούτῳ γὰρ ἠναγκά-
ζοντο χρῆσθαι τῷ ῥήματι διὰ τὰ συμβαίνοντα—
8 Πόπλιος Κορνήλιος [Ἀφρικανός], νέος μὲν ὤν,
δοκῶν δὲ σύμβουλος γεγονέναι τοῦ πολέμου,
<τὴν> ἐπὶ καλοκἀγαθίᾳ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ δόξαν
9 ὁμολογουμένην πεποιημένος, τῆς δ' ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ
φήμης προσδεόμενος, θεωρῶν τὴν σύγκλητον ἀπο-
ρουμένην, ἀναστὰς εἶπεν εἴτε χιλίαρχον εἴτε
πρεσβευτὴν πέμπειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν μετὰ
τῶν ὑπάτων ἐξεῖναι· πρὸς ἀμφότερα γὰρ ἑτοίμως
10 ἔχειν. καίτοι γ' ἔφη κατ' ἰδίαν μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν
εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἔξοδον ἅμα μὲν ἀσφαλεστέραν
11 <ἅμα δ' οἰκειοτέραν> εἶναι· συνέβαινε γὰρ τότε
τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐπ' ὀνόματος καλεῖν τὸν Σκι-
12 πίωνα διαλύσοντα τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς στάσεις· ἀλλὰ
τοὺς τῆς πατρίδος καιροὺς ἔφη κατεπείγειν μᾶλλον
καὶ καλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τοὺς ἀληθινῶς φιλο-
13 δοξοῦντας. πᾶσιν δὲ παραδόξου φανείσης τῆς
ἐπαγγελίας καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἄλλην
εὐλάβειαν, παραυτίκα μὲν εὐθέως συνέβη μεγάλην
ἀποδοχὴν γενέσθαι τοῦ Σκιπίωνος, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον
14 ταῖς ἑξῆς ἡμέραις· οἱ γὰρ πρότερον ἀποδειλιῶντες,
ἐκτρεπόμενοι τὸν ἐκ παραθέσεως ἔλεγχον, οἱ μὲν
πρεσβεύσειν ἐθελοντὴν ἐπηγγέλλοντο τοῖς στρατη-
γοῖς, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰς στρατιωτικὰς καταγραφὰς
προσεπορεύοντο κατὰ συστρέμματα καὶ συνηθείας.

5 Πολύβιος· ἐνέπεσε δέ τις ὁρμὴ τῷ Σκιπίωνι καὶ διαπόρησις, εἰ δεῖ συμβαλεῖν καὶ μονομαχῆσαι πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον.

2 Ὁ δ' ἵππος ὁ τοῦ Σκιπίωνος ἐδυσχρήστησε μὲν

the end of this shameless conduct on the part of the young men—for so they were compelled by circumstances to describe it—Publius Cornelius Scipio, who was still young and was thought to have advised the prosecution of the war, having now attained an unquestioned reputation for nobility of conduct and temperance of life, but being desirous of gaining the like for courage, when he saw the difficulty that faced the senate, rose and asked to be allowed to be sent to Spain either as tribune or as legate with the consuls; for he was ready to go in either capacity. Although, he said, as far as concerned himself personally, it was both safer and more agreeable for him to proceed to Macedonia—for at this time he had been specially invited by the Macedonians to go there and settle their domestic quarrels, yet the voice of their country at this critical time summoned more urgently to Spain all true devotees of glory. All were surprised at this offer owing to Scipio's youth and his cautiousness in general, and Scipio became very popular both at the moment and still more on the following days. For those who previously shirked their duty, ashamed now of being shown up by a comparison of their conduct with his, began some of them to volunteer for the post of legate and the rest to flock in groups to enrol themselves as soldiers.

(Suidas; cp. Livy, epit. xlviii.)

5. Scipio was assailed at the same time by an eager impulse to meet the barbarian in single combat and by doubt whether he should do so.

(Suidas.)

Scipio's horse was disabled by the blow, but did

ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς, οὐ μὴν ὁλοσχερῶς ἐσφάλμησε. διόπερ ὀρθὸς ἀπέπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὁ Σκιπίων· Πολύβιος.

II. Achaeorum exsules liberantur

6 Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἐξ Ἀχαΐας φυγάδων ἐντευχθεὶς διὰ Πολύβιον ὑπὸ Σκιπίωνος, ὡς πολὺς ἐν τῇ συγκλήτῳ λόγος ἐγίνετο, τῶν μὲν διδόντων κάθ-
2 οδον αὐτοῖς, τῶν δ' ἐνισταμένων, ἀναστὰς ὁ Κάτων "ὥσπερ οὐκ ἔχοντες" εἶπεν "ὃ πράττωμεν, καθήμεθα τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην περὶ γεροντίων Γραικῶν ζητοῦντες, πότερον ὑπὸ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ
3 τῶν ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ νεκροφόρων ἐκκομισθῶσι." ψηφισθείσης δὲ τῆς καθόδου τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ἡμέρας ὀλίγας οἱ περὶ τὸν Πολύβιον διαλιπόντες αὖθις ἐπεχείρουν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον εἰσελθεῖν, ὅπως ἃς πρότερον εἶχον ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ τιμὰς οἱ φυγάδες ἀναλάβοιεν, καὶ τοῦ Κάτωνος ἀπεπειρῶντο τῆς
4 γνώμης. ὁ δὲ μειδιάσας ἔφη τὸν Πολύβιον, ὥσπερ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα, βούλεσθαι πάλιν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Κύκλωπος σπήλαιον εἰσελθεῖν, τὸ πιλίον ἐκεῖ καὶ τὴν ζώνην ἐπιλελησμένον.

not entirely collapse, so that in losing his seat he fell on his feet.

II. Liberation of the Achaean exiles

(From Plutarch, *Cato Mai.* 9.)

6. Cato was approached by Scipio on behalf of the Achaean exiles through the influence of Polybius, and when there was a long debate in the senate, some advocating their return and others opposing it, Cato rose and said: "Just as if we had nothing to do we sit here all day disputing about some wretched old Greeks whether they shall be carried to their graves by bearers from Rome or from Achaea." And when their restitution was voted, and a few days afterwards Polybius intended to enter the house to demand that the exiles should recover the honours they had previously enjoyed in Achaea, and asked Cato's advice, Cato smiled and said that Polybius, like Ulysses, wanted to enter the cave of the Cyclops again, because he had forgotten his cap and belt. 151–150 B.C.

FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXVI

I. Bellum Punicum Tertium

1 Ἴσως δέ τινες ἐπιζητοῦσι πῶς ἡμεῖς οὐκ
(13) ἐναγωνίσματι κεχρήμεθα προφερόμενοι τοὺς κατὰ
μέρος λόγους, τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως ἐπειλημμένοι
2 καὶ τηλικαύτης πράξεως· ὅπερ οἱ πλεῖστοι ποιοῦσι
τῶν συγγραφέων, εἰς ἀμφότερα τὰ μέρη δια-
3 τιθέμενοι τοὺς ἐνόντας λόγους. ἐγὼ δὲ διότι μὲν
οὐκ ἀποδοκιμάζω τοῦτο τὸ μέρος, ἐν πλείοσι
τόποις τῆς ἱστορίας δῆλον πεποίημαι, πολλάκις
ἀπηγγελκὼς δημηγορίας καὶ συντάξεις ἀνδρῶν
4 πολιτικῶν· ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου τοῦτο
προαιροῦμαι πράττειν, νῦν ἔσται συμφανές· οὔτε
γὰρ ὑπόθεσιν ἐπιφανεστέραν ταύτης εὑρεῖν ῥᾴδιον
5 οὔθ' ὕλην πλείω καὶ παράθεσιν. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ
προχειρότερον ἕτερον ἐμοὶ τῆς τοιαύτης παρα-
6 σκευῆς. ἀλλ' οὔτε τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἀνδράσιν οἶμαι
πρέπειν πρὸς πᾶν τὸ προτεθὲν διαβούλιον εὑρησι-
λογεῖν καὶ διεξοδικοῖς χρῆσθαι λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ
τοῖς ἁρμόζουσι πρὸς τὸν ὑποκείμενον καιρόν,
7 οὔτε τοῖς ἱστοριογράφοις ἐμμελετᾶν τοῖς ἀκούουσιν
οὐδ' ἐναποδείκνυσθαι τὴν αὑτῶν δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ
<τὰ> κατ' ἀλήθειαν ῥηθέντα <καθ'> ὅσον οἷόν τε

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXVI

I. The Third Punic War

1. Perhaps some may ask themselves why I do not, now that I have to deal with a subject of such importance and so momentous an event, display my talent and report the particular speeches after the fashion of most authors who lay before us all that it is possible to say on either side. That I do not disapprove of such a practice is evident from various passages of this work in which I have quoted both the speeches and the writings of politicians. but it will now be made clear that it is not my principle to do this on any and every pretext. For it is not easy to find a subject more renowned than the present nor ampler material for comparisons; nor again is anything more facile for myself than such an exercise. But on the one hand neither do I think it is the proper part of a politician to display his ingenuity and indulge in discursive talk on any and every subject of debate that may arise, but simply to say what the situation demands, nor is it the proper part of a historian to practise on his readers and make a display of his ability to them, but rather to find out by the most diligent inquiry 150–149 B.C.

πολυπραγμονήσαντας διασαφεῖν, καὶ τούτων τὰ
καιριώτατα καὶ πραγματικώτατα.

2 Πάλαι δὲ τούτου κεκυρωμένου βεβαίως ἐν ταῖς
(1b) ἑκάστων γνώμαις καιρὸν ἐζήτουν ἐπιτήδειον καὶ
2 πρόφασιν εὐσχήμονα πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός. πολὺ
γὰρ δὴ τούτου τοῦ μέρους ἐφρόντιζον Ῥωμαῖοι,
3 καλῶς φρονοῦντες· ἔνστασις γὰρ πολέμου κατὰ τὸν
Δημήτριον δικαία μὲν εἶναι δοκοῦσα καὶ τὰ νική-
ματα ποιεῖ μείζω καὶ τὰς ἀποτεύξεις ἀσφαλεστέρας,
ἀσχήμων δὲ καὶ φαύλη τοὐναντίον ἀπεργάζεται·
4 διὸ καὶ τότε περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐκτὸς διαλήψεως πρὸς
ἀλλήλους διαφερόμενοι παρ' ὀλίγον ἀπέστησαν τοῦ
πολέμου.

3 Ὅτι τῶν Καρχηδονίων πάλαι βουλευομένων
(1) περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀπαντῆσαι <δεῖ πρὸς> τὴν Ῥωμαίων
ἀπόκρισιν, καὶ τῶν Ἰτυκαίων ὑποτεμομένων τὴν
ἐπίνοιαν αὐτῶν, τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὴν ἑαυτῶν παρα-
δόντων πόλιν, ὁλοσχερὴς ἀμηχανία περιέστη τοὺς
2 ἀνθρώπους. μιᾶς γὰρ ἐλπίδος ἔτι φαινομένης
αὐτοῖς, εἰ συγκαταβαῖεν εἰς τὸ δοῦναι τὴν ἐπι-
τροπὴν περὶ αὐτῶν, διότι πάντως εὐδοκεῖν ποιήσουσι
3 τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, διὰ τὸ μηδ' ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις
περιστάσεσιν καταπολεμηθέντες, καὶ πρὸς τοῖς
τείχεσι τῶν πολεμίων ὑπαρχόντων, μηδέποτε τὴν
4 ἐπιτροπὴν δεδωκέναι τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ ταύτης
τῆς ἐπινοίας τὸν καρπὸν ἀπέβαλον, προκατα-
5 ληφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰτυκαίων· οὐδὲν γὰρ ξένον
οὐδὲ παράδοξον ἔμελλε φανήσεσθαι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις,
6 εἰ ταὐτὸν ποιήσαιεν τοῖς προειρημένοις. οὐ μὴν

and report to them what was actually said, and even of this only what was most vital and effectual.

2. They had long ago made up their minds to act thus, but they were looking for a suitable opportunity and a pretext that would appeal to foreign nations. For the Romans very rightly paid great attention to this matter, since, as Demetrius says, when the inception of a war seems just, it makes victory greater and ill-success less perilous, while if it is thought to be dishonourable and wrong it has the opposite effect. So on this occasion their disputes with each other about the effect on foreign opinion very nearly made them desist from going to war.

3. The Carthaginians had been for long debating how they should answer the Roman reply, and now when the people of Utica forestalled their design by surrendering their city to Rome, they were entirely at a loss how to act. The one and only hope that presented itself to them was to consent to commit themselves to the faith of the Romans; since they thought that was sure to gratify these, as not even in the season of their greatest danger when they had been utterly defeated and the enemy was at their gates had they ever thus surrendered the liberty of their country. But now the fruit of this project was snatched from them by the people of Utica anticipating them, since they would no longer seem to the Romans to be acting in any remarkable or unexpected way by following the example of Utica. However, now that they were

<ἀλλὰ> κακῶν αἱρέσεως καταλειπομένης, ἢ τὸν
πόλεμον ἀναδέχεσθαι γενναίως ἢ διδόναι τὴν
7 ἐπιτροπὴν περὶ τῶν καθ' αὑτούς, πολλοὺς καὶ
ποικίλους ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ δι' ἀπορρήτων ποιη-
σάμενοι λόγους κατέστησαν πρεσβευτὰς αὐτο-
κράτορας, καὶ τούτους ἐξαπέστελλον, δόντες ἐν-
τολὴν βλέποντας πρὸς τὰ παρόντα πράττειν τὸ
8 δοκοῦν <συμφέρειν> τῇ πατρίδι. ἦσαν δ' οἱ πρε-
σβεύοντες Γίσκων Στρυτάνος ἐπικαλούμενος, Ἀμίλ-
9 κας, Μίσδης, Γιλλίμας, Μάγων. ἥκοντες <δ'> οἱ
πρέσβεις παρὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ
καταλαβόντες πόλεμον δεδογμένον καὶ τοὺς στρα-
τηγοὺς ὡρμηκότας μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων, οὐκέτι
διδόντων βουλὴν αὐτοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων, ἔδωκαν
τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν περὶ αὑτῶν.

4 Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς εἴρηται μὲν ἡμῖν καὶ
(2) πρότερον, ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἐστὶν καὶ νῦν ὑπομνῆσαι
2 κεφαλαιωδῶς. οἱ γὰρ διδόντες αὑτοὺς εἰς τὴν
Ῥωμαίων ἐπιτροπὴν διδόασι πρῶτον μὲν χώραν
τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς καὶ πόλεις τὰς ἐν ταύτῃ,
σὺν δὲ τούτοις ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας τοὺς ὑπ-
άρχοντας ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἅπαντας,
3 ὁμοίως ποταμούς, λιμένας, ἱερά, τάφους, συλ-
λήβδην ὥστε πάντων εἶναι κυρίους Ῥωμαίους,
αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς διδόντας ἁπλῶς μηκέτι μηδενός.
4 γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἀνθομολογήσεως τοιαύτης ὑπὸ
τῶν Καρχηδονίων, καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον εἰσκληθέντων
αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ συνέδριον, ἔλεγεν ὁ στρατηγὸς τὴν
τῆς συγκλήτου γνώμην ὅτι καλῶς αὐτῶν βεβουλευ-
μένων δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ἡ σύγκλητος τήν τ' ἐλευ-
θερίαν καὶ τοὺς νόμους, ἔτι δὲ τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν καὶ
τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ὑπαρχόντων κτῆσιν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ

left with the choice of two evils, either to accept war with brave hearts or to entrust themselves to the faith of Rome, after a long secret discusssion in the senate they appointed plenipotentiaries and sent them to Rome with instructions to do whatever they thought was in the interest of their country under present circumstances. The names of the envoys were Giscon, surnamed Strytanus, Hamilcar, Misdes, Gillimas, and Mago. But when these envoys from Carthage arrived in Rome they found that war had already been decided on, and that the generals had left with their armies and therefore, as the situation left them no choice, they committed Carthage to the faith of Rome.

4. I have previously stated what this phrasc (*dedere se in fidem*) means, but it is here necessary to remind my readers briefly of its significance. Those who thus commit themselves to the faith of Rome surrender in the first place the whole of their territory and the cities in it, next all the inhabitants of the land and the towns, male and female, likewise all rivers, harbours, temples, tombs, so that the result is that the Romans enter into possession of everything and those who surrender remain in possession of absolutely nothing. Shortly after this surrender had been made by the Carthaginians they were called into the senate, where the praetor conveyed to them the decision of the senate, that as they had been well advised, the senate granted them freedom and their laws, besides their whole territory and all other possessions both public and private. The

5 κατ' ἰδίαν. οἱ δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες
ἔχαιρον, δόξαντες ὡς ἐν κακῶν αἱρέσει καλῶς
σφίσιν κεχρῆσθαι τὴν σύγκλητον, ἅτε τῶν ἀναγ-
καιοτάτων καὶ μεγίστων αὐτοῖς συγκεχωρημένων.
6 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ στρατηγοῦ διασαφοῦντος διότι
τεύξονται τούτων, ἐὰν τριακοσίους ὁμήρους εἰς
τὸ Λιλύβαιον ἐκπέμψωσιν ἐν τριάκονθ' ἡμέραις
τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἐκ <τῆς> συγκλήτου καὶ τῆς γε-
ρουσίας καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων παραγγελλομέ-
7 νοις πειθαρχήσωσιν, ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἠπόρησαν ποῖα τὰ
διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτοῖς ἔσται παραγγελλόμενα·
πλὴν τότε γ' ἐξ αὐτῆς ὥρμησαν, σπεύδοντες
8 ἀναγγεῖλαι τῇ πατρίδι περὶ τούτων. παραγενό-
μενοι δ' εἰς τὴν Καρχηδόνα διεσάφουν τοῖς πολίταις
9 τὰ κατὰ μέρος. οἱ δὲ διακούσαντες τἄλλα μὲν
ἐνδεχομένως ἐνόμιζον βεβουλεῦσθαι τοὺς πρε-
σβευτάς, περὶ δὲ πόλεως μὴ γεγονέναι μνείαν εἰς
μεγάλην ἐπίστασιν αὐτοὺς ἦγε καὶ πολλὴν ἀμη-
χανίαν.

5 Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ φασὶ Μάγωνα τὸν
(3) Βρέττιον χρήσασθαι λόγοις ἀνδρώδεσι καὶ πραγ-
2 ματικοῖς. δύο γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, καιροὺς ἔφασκεν
εἶναι τοῦ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ σφῶν καὶ τῆς πατρί-
3 δος, ὧν τὸν μὲν ἕνα παρεῖσθαι. δεῖν γὰρ οὐ μὰ
Δία νῦν διαπορεῖν τί διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων αὐτοῖς
παραγγελθήσεται, καὶ διὰ τί περὶ πόλεως οὐδεμίαν
ἐποιήσατο μνείαν ἡ σύγκλητος, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὃν
4 καιρὸν ἐδίδοσαν τὴν ἐπιτροπήν· δόντας δὲ σαφῶς
γινώσκειν διότι πᾶν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον ἐπι-
δεκτέον ἐστίν, ἐὰν μὴ τελέως ὑπερήφανον <ᾖ> καὶ
5 παρὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν· εἰ δὲ μή, τότε πάλιν
βουλεύεσθαι πότερα δεῖ προσδέχεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον

Carthaginians on hearing this were pleased, thinking that in the choice of evils they had been well treated by the senate, as all that was most essential and important had been conceded to them. But after this, when the praetor informed them that they would obtain these favours if within thirty days they sent to Lilybaeum three hundred hostages, sons of senators or of members of the Gerousia, and if they obeyed the orders of the consuls, they were somewhat at a loss to know what these orders would be. However they left at once to announce all this at Carthage, and on coming there they informed their fellow-citizens of all the particulars. On hearing these they all thought that the envoys had obtained a satisfactory result in general, but the fact that there was no mention of the city caused serious anxiety and surprise.

5. At this time Mago the Bruttian was said to have spoken in a manly and practical fashion. For, as it seems, he said there were two opportunities of deciding about themselves and their country of which the one had been let slip. For the proper time, surely, to question what the orders of the consuls would be and why the senate made no reference to their city was not the present but the time when they put themselves at the mercy of Rome. Once they had done this they should be clearly aware that they must accept any order unless it were flagrantly oppressive and beyond expectation. In the latter case they must again consider if

εἰς τὴν χώραν καὶ πάσχειν ὅ τι ποτ' ἂν οὗτος
ἐπιφέρῃ τῶν δεινῶν, ἢ καταρρωδήσαντας τὴν τῶν
πολεμίων ἔφοδον ἐθελοντὴν ἀναδέχεσθαι πᾶν τὸ
6 προσταττόμενον. πάντων δὲ διὰ τὸν ἐφεστῶτα
πόλεμον καὶ διὰ τὸ τῆς προσδοκίας ἄδηλον φερο-
μένων ἐπὶ τὸ πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις,
ἔδοξεν πέμπειν τοὺς ὁμήρους εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον.
7 καὶ παραυτίκα καταλέξαντες τριακοσίους τῶν
νέων ἐξέπεμπον μετὰ μεγάλης οἰμωγῆς καὶ δα-
κρύων, ἅτε προπεμπόντων ἕκαστον τῶν ἀναγκαίων
καὶ συγγενῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν γυναικῶν ἐκκαου-
8 σῶν τὴν τοιαύτην διάθεσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέπλευσαν
εἰς τὸ Λιλύβαιον, οἱ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς παρεδόθησαν
διὰ τῶν ὑπάτων Κοΐντῳ Φαβίῳ Μαξίμῳ—συν-
έβαινε γὰρ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τῆς Σικελίας τετάχθαι
9 στρατηγὸν τότε—δι' οὗ παρακομισθέντες ἀσφαλῶς
εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην συνεκλείσθησαν ὁμοῦ πάντες εἰς
τὸ τῆς ἑκκαιδεκήρους νεώριον . . .

6 Καὶ τῶν μὲν ὁμήρων ἐκεῖσε παραχθέντων, οἱ
(4) στρατηγοὶ κατήχθησαν εἰς τὴν τῆς Ἰτύκης ἄκραν.
2 τούτων δὲ προσπεπτωκότων τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις
ὀρθὴ καὶ περίφοβος ἦν ἡ πόλις διὰ τὴν ἀδηλότητα
3 τῶν προσδοκωμένων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς
πρεσβευτὰς πέμπειν τοὺς πευσομένους τῶν ὑπάτων
τί δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ διασαφήσοντας ὅτι πρὸς πᾶν τὸ
4 παραγγελλόμενον ἕτοιμοι πάντες εἰσίν. τῶν δὲ
πρεσβευτῶν ἀφικομένων εἰς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων
παρεμβολήν, καὶ τοῦ συνεδρίου συναχθέντος, εἰσ-
ελθόντες οἱ πρέσβεις διελέγοντο κατὰ τὰς ἐντολάς.
5 ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος τῶν ὑπάτων ἐπαινέσας αὐτῶν
τὴν πρόθεσιν καὶ προαίρεσιν ἐκέλευε παραδιδόναι
τά θ' ὅπλα καὶ τὰ βέλη πάντα χωρὶς δόλου καὶ

they should expose their country to war and its terrors, or not daring to face the attack of the enemy, yield unresistingly to every demand. But as they all, owing to the war being close upon them and owing to the uncertainty of the future, were inclined to obey the orders, it was decided to send the hostages to Lilybaeum, and choosing at once three hundred of their young men they dispatched them with great lamentations and tears, as each was escorted by his near friends and relatives, the women being especially violent in their grief. On arriving at Lilybaeum the hostages were at once handed over through the consuls to Quintus Fabius Maximus, who was then in command in Sicily, and by him they were safely conveyed to Rome and the whole body confined in the dock of the large warship with sixteen banks of oars.

6. After the hostages had been brought to Rome the Roman commander landed at the Cape of Utica. Upon this news reaching Carthage the whole city was in great excitement and terror, owing to the uncertainty that prevailed as to what they were to expect. They decided, however, to send envoys to the consuls to ask them what they must do and inform them that all were disposed to obey any command. Upon their arrival at the Roman camp a council was called and the envoys spoke according to their instructions. The elder of the two consuls, after commending their decision and their compliant temper, ordered them to surrender all their arms and missiles without fraud or deceit. The envoys

6 ἀπάτης. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ποιήσειν μὲν ἔφασαν
τὸ παραγγελλόμενον, σκοπεῖσθαι δ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἠξίουν
τὸ συμβησόμενον, ἐὰν αὐτοὶ μὲν παραχωρήσωσι
τῶν ὅπλων, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ λαβόντες ἀποπλεύσωσιν.
ὅμως ταῦτα ἔδωκαν.

7 Δῆλον ἐγένετο διότι μέγα τὸ βάσταγμα τῆς
πόλεως ἦν· πλείονα γὰρ εἴκοσι μυριάδων ὅπλα
παρέδωκαν Ῥωμαίοις καὶ καταπέλτας δισχιλίους.

7 Ἁπλῶς δ᾽ οὐδὲν εἶδος τῶν μελλόντων ἔγνωσαν,
(5) 2 ἐξ αὐτῆς δὲ τῆς ἐμφάσεως ὀττευόμενοι τῶν πρέ-
σβεων εἰς παντοδαπὰς οἰμωγὰς καὶ θρήνους ἐν-
έπιπτον.

3 Οἱ δὲ πάντες ἅμ᾽ ἀνακεκραγότες ἐξ αὐτῆς
4 οἱονεὶ παρελύθησαν. ταχὺ δὲ τοῦ λόγου δια-
δοθέντος εἰς τὸ πλῆθος, οὐκέτι συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι
τὴν ἀλογίαν, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς
ὥρμων, ὡς αἰτίους σφίσι τῶν κακῶν ὄντας τούτων,
5 οἱ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατειλημμένους τῶν Ἰταλικῶν καὶ
ἐπὶ τούτους ἀπηρείσαντο τὸν θυμόν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς
τὰς πύλας τῆς πόλεως . . .

8 Ἀμίλκας, ὁ καὶ Φαμέας, Καρχηδονίων στρα-
(6) τηγός, ὃς ὑπῆρχε κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀκμάζων
καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἕξιν ἐρρωμένος, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον
ἐφόδιον πρὸς πολεμικὴν χρείαν, ἱππεὺς ἄγαν
ἀγαθὸς καὶ τολμηρός.

2 Οἱ δὲ διαζηλοτυπούμενοι πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα
ἐπεβάλοντο διασύρειν τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ.

said they would comply with the order, but begged the Romans to consider what would happen to them if they gave up all their arms and the Romans took them and sailed away with them. Nevertheless they gave them up.

(Suidas.)

It was evident that the power of the city was very great, for they gave up to the Romans more than two hundred thousand suits of mail and two thousand catapults.

(Suidas.)

7. They had absolutely no notion of any kind of what was in store for them, but auguring the worst from the manner alone of the envoys, they gave vent to every kind of lament and plaint.

(Suidas.)

After one loud cry they remained, as it were, without power of utterance. But when the news quickly spread among the people there was no more speechlessness, but some threw themselves upon the envoys, as if it were all their fault, others attacked such Italians as were detained in the city and vented their wrath on them, and others rushed to the gates.

(Suidas.)

8. Hamilcar, also known as Phameas, the Carthaginian general, was in the prime of life, of great personal vigour, and what is most important in a soldier, a good and bold rider.

(Suidas.)

Others from extreme jealousy of Scipio tried to belittle his achievements.

3 (2) Τὰς προφυλακὰς βλέπων ὁ Φαμέας, ὢν οὐκ ἄψυχος, ἐξέκλινε τὰς πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα συμπλοκάς. καί ποτε συνεγγίσας ταῖς ἐφεδρείαις, προβαλόμενος ὀφρὺν ἀπότομον ἐπέστη καὶ πλείω χρόνον.

4 (3) Αἱ δὲ σημεῖαι τῶν Ῥωμαίων συνεπεφεύγεσαν εἰς βουνόν· καὶ πάντων δόντων γνώμας ὁ Σκιπίων
5 (4) ἔφη, . . . ὅταν ἐξ ἀκεραίου βουλεύωνται, καὶ πλείω ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν τοῦ μηδὲν παθεῖν ἢ τοῦ δρᾶσαι κακῶς τοὺς ἐχθρούς.

6 (5) Οὐ χρὴ θαυμάζειν εἰ φιλοτιμότερον ἐξηγούμεθα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Σκιπίωνα καὶ πᾶν τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ διαστολῆς ἐξαγγέλλομεν.

II. Res Graeciae

9 Ὅτι περὶ Καρχηδονίων, ὅτε κατεπολέμησαν
(xxxvii. 1) αὐτοὺς οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν Ψευδο-
(xxxvii. 1a) φίλιππον κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πολλοὶ καὶ παντοῖοι διεφέροντο λόγοι, τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ Καρχηδονίους, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ὑπὲρ τῶν
2 κατὰ τὸν Ψευδοφίλιππον. τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ Καρχηδονίους ἀμφιδοξουμένας εἶχε τὰς ἀποφάσεις
3 καὶ τὰς διαλήψεις· ἔνιοι μὲν γὰρ συγκατῄνουν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, φάσκοντες αὐτοὺς φρονίμως καὶ πραγματικῶς βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῆς δυναστείας·
4 τὸ γὰρ τὸν ἐπικρεμάμενον φόβον καὶ τὴν πολλάκις μὲν ἠμφισβητηκυῖαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῆς

(Suidas.)

Seeing the strength of the outposts, Phameas, who was by no means timid, used to avoid any engagement with Scipio, and once when he approached the Roman reserve force he got under shelter of a steep ridge and halted there for a considerable time.

(Suidas.)

The Roman maniples fled to the top of a hill, and when every one had given his advice, Scipio said, "When men are consulting about a fresh emergency they must rather take care to avoid disaster than scheme how to damage the enemy."

(Suidas.)

It should not be a matter of surprise to anyone if I display particular interest in Scipio and report all his utterances at length.

II. Affairs of Greece

9. Both about the Carthaginians when they were crushed by the Romans and about the affair of the pseudo-Philip many divergent accounts were current in Greece, at first on the subject of the conduct of Rome to Carthage and next concerning their treatment of the pseudo-Philip. As regards the former the judgements formed and the opinions held in Greece were far from unanimous. There were some who approved the action of the Romans, saying that they had taken wise and statesmanlike measures in defence of their empire. For to destroy this source of perpetual menace, this city which had constantly

ἡγεμονίας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ νῦν δυναμένην ἀμφισβητῆσαι
σὺν καιρῷ, ταύτην ἐπανελομένους βεβαιῶσαι τῇ
σφετέρᾳ πατρίδι τὴν ἀρχὴν νοῦν ἐχόντων εἶναι
καὶ μακρὰν βλεπόντων ἀνθρώπων.
5 Ἔνιοι δὲ τούτοις ἀντέλεγον, φάσκοντες οὐ
τη<ρεῖν αὐ>τοὺς τὴν προαίρεσιν ᾗ κατεκτή-
σαντο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς τὴν
Ἀθηναίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκτρέπεσθαι φιλ-
αρχίαν καὶ βραδύτερον μὲν ἐκείνων ὁρμᾶν, ἥξειν δ'
6 ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ τέλος ἐκ τῶν προφαινομένων. πρότερον
μὲν γὰρ πᾶσι πεπολεμηκέναι μέχρι τοῦ κρατῆσαι
καὶ συγχωρῆσαι τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους ὅτι δεῖ
πείθεσθαι σφίσι καὶ ποιεῖν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον·
7 νῦν δὲ προοίμιον μὲν ἐκτεθεῖσθαι τῆς ἰδίας προαι-
ρέσεως τὰ κατὰ Περσέα, βαστάσαντας ἐκ ῥιζῶν
τὴν Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν, τετελειωκέναι δὲ κατὰ
τὸ παρὸν διὰ τῆς περὶ Καρχηδονίων διαλήψεως·
8 μηδενὸς γὰρ ἀνηκέστου γεγονότος ἐξ ἐκείνων,
ἀνηκέστως καὶ βαρέως βεβουλεῦσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν,
πᾶν ἀναδεχομένων καὶ πᾶν ὑπομενόντων ποιήσειν
τὸ προσταττόμενον.
9 Ἕτεροι δὲ καθόλου μὲν πολιτικὸν εἶναι τὸ
Ῥωμαϊκὸν ἔθνος ἔφασαν καὶ τοῦτ' ἴδιον εἶναι καὶ
ἐπὶ τούτῳ σεμνύνεσθαι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ἐπὶ τῷ
καὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἁπλῶς καὶ γενναίως πολεμεῖν, μὴ
νυκτεριναῖς ἐπιθέσεσι χρωμένους μηδ' ἐνέδραις,
πᾶν δὲ τὸ δι' ἀπάτης καὶ δόλου γινόμενον ἀποδο-
κιμάζοντας, μόνους δὲ τοὺς ἐκ προδήλου καὶ κατὰ
πρόσωπον κινδύνους ὑπολαμβάνοντας αὑτοῖς καθ-
10 ήκειν. νῦν δὲ πάντα περὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους δι'
ἀπάτης καὶ δόλου κεχειρικέναι, κατὰ βραχὺ τὸ
μὲν προτείνοντας, τὸ δ' ἐπικρυπτομένους, ἕως οὗ

disputed the supremacy with them and was still able to dispute it if it had the opportunity and thus to secure the dominion of their own country, was the act of intelligent and far-seeing men.

Others took the opposite view, saying that far from maintaining the principles by which they had won their supremacy, they were little by little deserting it for a lust of domination like that of Athens and Sparta, starting indeed later than those states, but sure, as everything indicated, to arrive at the same end. For at first they had made war with every nation until they were victorious and until their adversaries had confessed that they must obey them and execute their orders. But now they had struck the first note of their new policy by their conduct to Perseus, in utterly exterminating the kingdom of Macedonia, and they had now completely revealed it by their decision concerning Carthage. For the Carthaginians had been guilty of no immediate offence to Rome, but the Romans had treated them with irremediable severity, although they had accepted all their conditions and consented to obey all their orders.

Others said that the Romans were, generally speaking, a civilized people, and that their peculiar merit on which they prided themselves was that they conducted their wars in a simple and noble manner, employing neither night attacks nor ambushes, disapproving of every kind of deceit and fraud, and considering that nothing but direct and open attacks were legitimate for them. But in the present case, throughout the whole of their proceedings in regard to Carthage, they had used deceit and fraud, offering certain things one at a time and keep-

παρείλαντο πάσας τὰς ἐλπίδας τοῦ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς
11 τοὺς συμμάχους. τοῦτο δὲ μοναρχικῆς πραγματο-
ποιίας οἰκεῖον εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ πολιτικῆς καὶ
Ῥωμαϊκῆς αἱρέσεως καὶ προσεοικὸς ἀσεβήματι
καὶ παρασπονδήματι κατὰ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον.
12 ἦσαν δέ τινες οἳ καὶ τούτοις ἀντιλέγοντες. εἰ μὲν
γὰρ πρὶν ἢ δοῦναι τοὺς Καρχηδονίους τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν
αὑτῶν οὕτως ἐχείριζον τὰ πράγματα, κατὰ βραχὺ
τὰ μὲν προτείνοντες, τὰ δὲ παραγυμνοῦντες, εἰκότως
ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐνόχους φαίνεσθαι τοῖς ἐγκαλουμένοις·
13 εἰ δὲ δόντων αὐτῶν τῶν Καρχηδονίων τὴν ἐπι-
τροπὴν ὥστε βουλεύεσθαι Ῥωμαίους ὅ τι ποτὲ
φαίνοιτο περὶ αὐτῶν, οὕτω <κατὰ> τὴν ἐξουσίαν,
ὥς ποτε δοκοῖ σφίσι, τὸ κριθὲν ἐπέταττον καὶ
παρήγγελλον, οὐκ<έτι τὸ> γινόμενον ἀσεβήματι
παραπλήσιον <εἶ>ν<αι> καὶ <μὴν> οὐδὲ παρασπον-
δήματι <μικ>ροῦ <δ>εῖν· ἔ<νιοι> δ' <ἔφ>ασαν οὐκ
14 ἀδικήματι τὸ παρά<παν>· τριῶν γὰρ <οὐσ>ῶν
διαφορῶν, <εἰς> ἃς <τὸ π>ᾶν ἔγκλημα φύσει
καταντᾶν, εἰς οὐδεμίαν ἐμπίπτειν τούτων τὸ
15 γινόμενον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων· ἀσέβημα μὲν γὰρ εἶναι
τὸ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς καὶ τοὺς τεθνεῶ-
τας ἁμαρτάνειν, παρασπόνδημα δὲ τὸ παρὰ τὰς
ἐνόρκους καὶ τὰς ἐγγράπτους ὁμολογίας πρατ-
τόμενον, <ἀδίκημα δὲ τὸ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ>
16 τοὺς ἐθισμοὺς ἐπιτελούμεν<ον>· ὧν οὐδὲν <κατὰ> τὸ
παρὸν ἐνόχους εἶναι Ῥωμαίους· οὐ γὰρ εἰς τοὺς
θεοὺς οὐδ' εἰς τοὺς γονεῖς οὐδ' εἰς τοὺς τεθνεῶτας
ἐξαμαρτάνειν, οὐδὲ μὴν ὅρκους οὐδὲ συνθήκας
παραβαίνειν, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον αὐτοὺς ἐγκαλεῖν τοῖς
17 Καρχηδονίοις ὅτι παραβεβήκασι. καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ

ing others secret, until they cut off every hope the city had of help from her allies. This, they said, savoured more of a despot's intrigue than of the principles of a civilized state such as Rome, and could only be justly described as something very like impiety and treachery. And there were others who differed likewise from these latter critics. For, they said, if before the Carthaginians had committed themselves to the faith of Rome the Romans had proceeded in this manner, offering certain things one at a time and gradually disclosing others, they would of course have appeared to be guilty of the charge brought against them. But if, in fact, after the Carthaginians had of their own accord committed themselves to the faith of the Romans and given them liberty to treat them in any way they chose, the Romans, being thus authorized to act as it seemed good to them, gave the orders and imposed the terms on which they had decided, what took place did not bear any resemblance to an act of impiety and scarcely any to an act of treachery; in fact some said it was not even of the nature of an injustice. For every crime must naturally fall under one of these three classes, and what the Romans did belongs to neither of the three. For impiety is sin against the gods, against parents, or against the dead; treachery is the violation of sworn or written agreements; and injustice is what is done contrary to law and custom. Of none of these three were the Romans guilty on the present occasion. Neither did they sin against the gods, against their parents, or against the dead, nor did they violate any sworn agreement or treaty; on the contrary they accused the Carthaginians of doing this. Nor, again, did

νόμους οὐδ' ἐθισμοὺς οὐδὲ τὴν κατ' ἰδίαν πίστιν
ἀθετεῖν· λαβόντας γὰρ τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν παρ' ἑκόν-
των ὃ βούλοιντο πράττειν, οὐ πειθαρχούντων
τοῖς παραγγελλομένοις, οὕτως αὐτοῖς προσάγειν
τὴν ἀνάγκην.

10 Περὶ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων καὶ Καρχηδονίων ταῦτ'
(xxxvii. 2) ἐλέγετο· περὶ δὲ τοῦ Ψευδοφιλίππου τὸ μὲν
(xxxvii. 1b) 2 πρῶτον οὐδ' ἀνεκτὸς ὁ λόγος ἐφαίνετο· πάρεστί
τις ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἀεροπετὴς Φίλιππος, κατα-
φρονήσας οὐ μόνον Μακεδόνων ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαίων,
οὐδεμίαν ἀφορμὴν εὔλογον ἔχων πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολήν,
3 ἅτε γινωσκομένου τοῦ κατ' ἀλήθειαν Φιλίππου
διότι σχεδὸν ὀκτωκαίδεκα γεγονὼς ἐτῶν μετήλ-
λαξε τὸν βίον ἐν Ἄλβᾳ τῆς Ἰταλίας δυσὶν ὕστερον
4 ἔτεσιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Περσέως. μετὰ δὲ μῆνας
τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας προσπεσούσης φήμης διότι
νενίκηκε μάχῃ τοὺς Μακεδόνας πέραν τοῦ Στρυμό-
νος <κατὰ> τὴν Ὀδομαντικήν, τινὲς μὲν ἀπεδέχοντο
5 τὸν λόγον, οἱ δὲ πλείους ἀκμὴν ἠπίστουν. μετ'
οὐ πολὺ δὲ πάλιν ἅμα τοῦ λόγου προσπίπτοντος
ὅτι νικᾷ μάχῃ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐπὶ τάδε τοῦ
Στρυμόνος καὶ πάσης Μακεδονίας κρατεῖ, καὶ
Θετταλῶν γράμματα καὶ πρεσβευτὰς πεμψάντων
πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς καὶ παρακαλούντων βοηθεῖν,
ὡς καὶ περὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπάρχοντος κινδύνου, θαυμα-
6 στὸν ἐφάνη καὶ παράδοξον τὸ γεγονός· οὐδεμία
γὰρ οὔτε πιθανότης οὔτ' εὐλογία προυφαίνετο περὶ
7 τοῦ συμβεβηκότος. τοιαῦται μὲν οὖν περὶ τού-
των ἦσαν διαθέσεις.

11 Ὅτι προσπεσόντων εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον γραμ-
(xxxvii. 3) μάτων τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς παρὰ τοῦ Μανιλίου διότι
(xxxvii. 2a) καλῶς ποιήσουσι Πολύβιον τὸν Μεγαλοπολίτην

they break any laws or customs or their personal faith. For having received from a people who consented willingly full authority to act as they wished, when this people refused to obey their orders they finally resorted to force.

10. This, then, is what was said concerning the Romans and Carthaginians. As for the false Philip, at first the story seemed utterly inadmissible. Here is a Philip fallen from the skies who appears in Macedonia, making light not only of the Macedonians but of the Romans too, with no plausible reason to show for his enterprise, as it was well known that the real Philip died at the age of about eighteen at Alba in Italy, two years after the death of Perseus himself. But when three or four months later the report came that he had defeated the Macedonians in a battle beyond the Strymon in the country of the Odomanti, some accepted the news as true, but most people still remained incredulous. But when again, a short time after, it was reported that he had defeated the Macedonians on this side of the Strymon and was master of the whole of Macedonia, and when the Thessalians sent a letter and envoys to the Achaeans begging for their help, as they themselves were now in peril, the whole thing seemed most wonderful and extraordinary, for such an event had not previously seemed remotely probable or at all to be reckoned with. Such was the state of opinion about these matters.

11. When a letter reached the Peloponnesus addressed to the Achaeans from Manilius, saying that they would do well to send Polybius of Megalo-

ἐκπέμψαντες μετὰ σπουδῆς εἰς Λιλύβαιον, ὡς
χρείας οὔσης αὐτοῦ δημοσίων ἕνεκεν πραγμάτων,
ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐκπέμπειν ἀκολούθως τοῖς
2 ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπάτου γεγραμμένοις. ἡμεῖς δὲ νομίζον-
τες ἑαυτοῖς καθήκειν κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους τὸ
πειθαρχεῖν Ῥωμαίοις, πάντα τἄλλα πάρεργα <θέ-
3 μενοι> θερείας ἀρχομένης ἐξεπλεύσαμεν. ἀφικό-
μενοι δ' εἰς Κέρκυραν καὶ καταλαβόντες αὐτοῦ
γράμματα παρὰ τῶν ὑπάτων προσπεπτωκότα
τοῖς Κερκυραίοις, ἐν οἷς διεσάφουν ὅτι τοὺς μὲν
ὁμήρους ἤδη παραδεδώκασιν αὐτοῖς οἱ Καρχηδό-
νιοι, πάντως ἕτοιμοι δ' εἰσὶν αὐτοῖς πειθαρχεῖν,
4 νομίσαντες διαλελύσθαι τὸν πόλεμον καὶ μηκέτι
χρείαν ἡμῶν εἶναι μηδεμίαν, αὖθις ἀπεπλεύσαμεν
εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

12 Οὐ χρὴ δὲ θαυμάζειν ἐὰν ποτὲ μὲν τῷ κυρίῳ
(xxxvii. 4) σημαίνωμεν αὐτοὺς ὀνόματι, ποτὲ δὲ ταῖς κοιναῖς
(xxxvii. 2b) ἐμφάσεσιν, οἷον οὕτως "ἐμοῦ δὲ ταῦτ' εἰπόντος"
2 καὶ πάλιν "ἡμῶν δὲ συγκαταθεμένων." ἐπὶ πολὺ
γὰρ ἐμπεπλεγμένων ἡμῶν εἰς τὰς μετὰ ταῦτα
μελλούσας ἱστορεῖσθαι πράξεις, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι
μεταλαμβάνειν τὰς περὶ αὐτῶν σημασίας, ἵνα
μήτε τοὔνομα συνεχῶς προφερόμενοι προσκόπτω-
μεν ταυτολογοῦντες μήτε πάλιν "ἐμοῦ" καὶ
"δι' ἐμέ" παρ' ἕκαστον λέγοντες λάθωμεν εἰς
3 φορτικὴν διάθεσιν ἐμπίπτοντες, ἀλλὰ συγχρώμενοι
πᾶσι τούτοις καὶ μεταλαμβάνοντες ἀεὶ τὸ τῷ
καιρῷ πρέπον ἐφ' ὅσον οἷόν τε διαφεύγωμεν τὸ
4 λίαν ἐπαχθὲς τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν λαλιᾶς, ἐπειδὴ φύσει
μὲν ἀπρόσδεκτός ἐστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος λόγος, ἀναγ-
καῖος δ' ὑπάρχει πολλάκις ὅταν μὴ δυνατὸν ἄλλως
5 ᾖ δηλῶσαι τὸ προκείμενον. γέγονε δέ τι πρὸς

polis at once to Lilybaeum as he was required for the public service, the Achaeans voted to send him in response to this written request of the consul. I, myself, thinking that for many reasons I ought to obey the Romans, put every other consideration aside and set sail early in summer. On arriving at Corcyra and finding there a letter addressed by the consuls to the Corcyraeans, in which they informed them that the Carthaginians had already delivered the hostages to them and were ready to comply with all their orders, I thought that the war was over, and that there was no further need for my services, and therefore I at once sailed back to the Peloponnesus.

12. It should cause no surprise if at times I use my proper name in speaking of myself, and elsewhere use general expressions such as "after I had said this" or again, "and when I agreed to this." For as I was personally much involved in the events I am now about to chronicle, I am compelled to change the phrases when alluding to myself, so that I may neither offend by the frequent repetition of my name, nor again by constantly saying "when I" or "for me" fall unintentionally into an ill-mannered habit of speech. What I wish is by using these modes of expression alternately and in their proper place to avoid as far as possible the offence that lies in speaking constantly about oneself, as such personal references are naturally unwelcome, but are often necessary when the matter cannot be stated clearly without them. Luckily I have been assisted in

τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἡμῖν οἷον ἐκ ταὐτομάτου συνέργημα τὸ μηδένα μέχρι γε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καιρῶν ταὐτὸν ἡμῖν ὄνομα κεκληρονομηκέναι κυρίως, ὅσον γε καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰδέναι.

13 ῞Οτι κατά τι σύμπτωμα τῶν μὲν τοῦ Καλλικρά-
(xxxvii. 5) τους εἰκόνων εἰσφερομένων κατὰ τὸ σκότος, τῶν
(xxxvii. 2c) δὲ τοῦ Λυκόρτα κατὰ τὴν <αὐτὴν> ἡμέραν ἐκφερομένων εἰς τὸ φῶς κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς διάθεσιν,
2 πάντας ἠνάγκαζε τὸ γινόμενον ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι διότι δεῖ μηδέποτε τοῖς καιροῖς ὑπερηφάνως χρῆσθαι κατὰ τῶν πέλας, εἰδότα διότι καὶ λίαν τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἴδιον ἐπιτήδευμα τῆς τύχης, τὸ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐπινοήμασι καὶ νομοθετήμασιν ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς αὐτοὺς ὑποβάλλειν τοὺς νομοθετήσαντας.
3 ῞Οτι αὐτὸ τὸ φύσει φιλόκαινον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἱκανόν ἐστι πρὸς πᾶσαν μεταβολήν.

III. Res Bithyniae

14 ῞Οτι Ῥωμαῖοι ἔπεμψαν πρεσβευτὰς τοὺς ἐπι-
(xxxvii. 6) ληψομένους τῆς ὁρμῆς τῆς τοῦ Νικομήδους καὶ
(xxxvii. 2d) κωλύσοντας τὸν Ἄτταλον πολεμεῖν τῷ Προυσίᾳ,
2 καὶ κατεστάθησαν Μάρκος Λικίννιος, ἄνθρωπος ποδαγρικὸς καὶ τελείως ἀδύνατος τοῖς ποσί, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Αὖλος Μαγκῖνος, ὃς κεραμίδος εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐμπεσούσης αὐτῷ τηλικαύτας καὶ τοσαύτας οὐλὰς εἶχε διὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὥστε θαυμαστὸν εἶναι πῶς ἐσώθη, καὶ Λεύκιος Μαλλέολος, ὃς πάντων ἐδόκει Ῥωμαίων ἀναισθητότατος ὑπ-
3 άρχειν. τῆς δὲ πράξεως προσδεομένης τάχους καὶ τόλμης ἐδόκουν ἀφυέστατοι πρὸς τὴν χρείαν εἶναι
4 ταύτην οἱ καθεσταμένοι. διὸ καί φασι Μάρκον

this matter by the fortuitous fact that no one as far as I know, up to the time in which I live at least, has received from his parents the same proper name as my own.

13. It chanced that on one and the same day the portraits of Callicrates were carried in in darkness, while those of Lycortas on the same day were brought out into the light to occupy their original position, and this made every one remark that no one should misuse his success to persecute his neighbours, since he should know that it is the peculiar function of Fortune to bring to bear in turn on the legislators themselves the very laws they themselves originated and passed.

The love of innovation natural to man is in itself sufficient to produce any kind of revolution.

III. Affairs of Bithynia

(Cp. Livy, epit. l.)

14. The Romans sent legates to check the aggressive spirit of Nicomedes and to prevent Attalus from going to war with Prusias. Those appointed were Marcus Licinius, a gouty man quite weak upon his legs, Aulus Mancinus, who in consequence of a tile falling on his head had received so many serious wounds on the head, that it is a wonder he escaped with his life, and Lucius Malleolus, who was thought to be the most stupid man in Rome. As the matter called for rapid and bold action, the legates selected were considered to be the most incompetent that could be found for this task. Owing

Πόρκιον τὸν Κάτωνα προσαγορευόμενον εἰπεῖν ἐν συγκλήτῳ διότι συμβήσεται μὴ μόνον ἀπολόμενον φθάσαι τὸν Προυσίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Νικομήδην γηράσαντ᾿ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ· πῶς γὰρ οἷόν τε καταταχῆσαι, πῶς δὲ καταταχήσασαν ἀνύσασθαί τι τὴν πρεσβείαν, μήτε πόδας μήτε κεφαλὴν μήτε καρδίαν ἔχουσαν.

15 Ὅτι Προυσίας ὁ βασιλεύς, εἰδεχθὴς ὢν κατὰ
(xxxvii. 7) τὴν ἔμφασιν, καίπερ ἐκ συλλογισμοῦ βελτίων
(xxxvii. 2) ὑπάρχων, ἥμισυς ἀνὴρ <ἦν> κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν
καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας ἀγεννὴς καὶ γυναι-
2 κώδης. οὐ γὰρ μόνον δειλὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς
τὰς κακοπαθείας ἀλλότριος καὶ συλλήβδην ἐκτε-
θηλυμμένος καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι παρ᾿
3 ὅλον τὸν βίον· ὅπερ ἥκιστα βούλονται περὶ τοὺς
βασιλεῖς ὑπάρχειν ἅπαντες μέν, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ
4 τῶν Βιθυνῶν γένος. πολλὴ δέ τις ἀσέλγεια καὶ
περὶ τὰς σωματικὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῷ συνεξηκο-
5 λούθει. παιδείας δὲ καὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῶν ἐν
τούτοις θεωρημάτων ἄπειρος εἰς τέλος ἦν καὶ
συλλήβδην τοῦ καλοῦ τί ποτ᾿ ἔστιν οὐδ᾿ ἔννοιαν
6 εἶχε, Σαρδαναπάλλου δὲ βάρβαρον βίον ἔζη καὶ
7 μεθ᾿ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ. τοιγαροῦν ἅμα τῷ
δράξασθαι βραχείας ἐλπίδος τὸ τῶν βασιλευο-
μένων πλῆθος ἀμετάκλητον ὁρμὴν ἔσχεν εἰς τὸ
μὴ μόνον ἀλλότρια φρονεῖν τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τιμωρίαν βούλεσθαι παρ᾿ αὐτοῦ λαμβάνειν.

IV. Bellum Punicum Tertium

16 Ὅτι Μασανάσσης ὁ ἐν Λιβύῃ τῶν Νομάδων
(xxxvii.10) βασιλεὺς ἀνὴρ ἦν τῶν καθ᾿ ἡμᾶς βασιλέων ἄριστος
(xxxvii.3) 2 καὶ μακαριώτατος, ὃς ἐβασίλευσεν ἔτη πλείω τῶν

to this they say that Marcus Porcius Cato remarked in the senate that before it was finished not only would Prusias be dead but Nicomedes, too, would have died of old age in his royal state; for how could the commission act expeditiously, or if it did, achieve any result, as it had not feet nor a head nor a heart.

15. King Prusias was an ill-favoured man, and though possessed of fair reasoning power, was but half a man as regards his appearance, and had no more military capacity than a woman; for not only was he a coward, but he was incapable of putting up with hardship, and, to put it shortly, he was effeminate in body and mind through his whole life, a defect that no one, and least of all Bithynians, like to see in a king. In addition to this he was most incontinent in satisfying his sensual appetites; he was entirely a stranger to literature, philosophy, and all such studies, and generally speaking had no notion whatever of what goodness and beauty are, but lived by day and night the barbarous life of a Sardanapallus. So that all his subjects, the moment they saw the least chance of success, became irrevocably resolved not only to throw off allegiance to the king, but to exact punishment from him.

IV. The Third Punic War

16. Massanissa, the king of the Numidians in Africa, 149–148 B.C.
one of the best and most fortunate men of our time, reigned for over sixty years, enjoying excellent

ἐξήκονθ᾽, ὑγιεινότατος ὢν καὶ πολυχρονιώτατος·
3 ἐνενήκοντα γὰρ ἐτῶν ἐγεγόνει. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ δυναμικώτατος τῶν καθ᾽ αὑτὸν κατὰ τὴν σωματικὴν ἕξιν, ὅς, ὅτε μὲν στῆναι δέοι, στὰς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἴχνεσι δι᾽ ἡμέρας ἔμενε, καθεζόμενος <δὲ>
4 πάλιν οὐκ ἠγείρετο. καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱππικῶν κακοπάθειαν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα συνεχῶς διακαρτε-
5 ρῶν οὐδὲν ἔπασχεν. σημεῖον δὲ τῆς σωματικῆς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεως· ἔχων ἐνενήκοντ᾽ ἔτη, καθ᾽ ὃν καιρὸν μετήλλαξε τὸν βίον, υἱὸν ἀπέλειπε τεττάρων ἐτῶν, ὄνομα Σθέμβανον, ὃν μετὰ ταῦτα Μικίψης
6 υἱοποιήσατο, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις υἱοὺς ἐννέα. διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τούτων εὔνοιαν διετήρησε τὸν ὅλον βίον πάσης ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ παντὸς οἰκείου μιάσματος ἄμοιρον αὑτοῦ γενέσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν.
7 τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ θειότατον τούτου· τῆς γὰρ Νομαδίας ἁπάσης ἀχρήστου τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον ὑπαρχούσης καὶ νομιζομένης ἀδυνάτου τῇ φύσει
8 πρὸς ἡμέρους καρποὺς ὑπάρχειν, πρῶτος καὶ μόνος ὑπέδειξε διότι δύναται πάντας ἐκφέρειν τοὺς ἡμέρους καρποὺς οὐδ᾽ ὁποίας ἧττον, ἑκάστῳ τῶν υἱῶν ἐν διαστάσει μυριοπλέθρους ἀγροὺς κατα-
9 σκευάσας παμφόρους. τῇ μὲν οὖν ἐκείνου μεταστάσει ταῦτ᾽ ἄν τις εὐλόγως ἐπιφθέγξαιτο καὶ
10 δικαίως. ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Κίρταν ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ μετὰ τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως θάνατον διῴκησε καλῶς πάντα.

11 Μασανάσσην δ᾽ ἱστορεῖ Πολύβιος ἐνενήκοντα μὲν ἐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν, τετράετες καταλιπόντα παι-
12 δάριον ἐξ αὑτοῦ γεγενημένον· ὀλίγῳ δ᾽ ἔμπροσθεν τῆς τελευτῆς μάχῃ νικήσαντα μεγάλῃ Καρχηδονίους ὀφθῆναι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς

health and attaining a great age, for he lived till ninety. He also excelled all his contemporaries in bodily strength, for when it was necessary to stand, he could stand in the same place for a whole day without shifting, and again, if he were seated, he never used to get up. And he could also continue to ride hard by night and day without feeling any the worse. The following is a proof of his bodily strength. At the age of ninety, the age at which he died, he left a son of four years old called Sthembanus, subsequently adopted by Micipses, besides nine other sons. Owing to the affectionate terms they were all on he kept his kingdom during his whole life free from all plots and from any taint of domestic discord. But his greatest and most godlike achievement was this. While Numidia had previously been a barren country thought to be naturally incapable of producing crops, he first and he alone proved that it was as capable as any other country of bearing all kinds of crops, by making for each of his sons a separate property of 10,000 plethra which produced all kinds of crops. It is only proper and just to pay this tribute to his memory on his death. Scipio arrived in Cirta two days after the king's death and set everything in order.

(From Plutarch, *An seni sit gerenda respublica*, p. 791 f.)

Polybius tells us that Massanissa died at the age of ninety, leaving a four-year-old child of which he was the father. A little before his death, he defeated the Carthaginians in a great battle, and next day he was seen in front of his tent eating

ῥυπαρὸν ἄρτον ἐσθίοντα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θαυμάζοντας εἰπεῖν ὅτι τοῦτο ποιεῖ . . .

V. Bellum Macedonicum

17 Ἐγὼ δέ, φησὶν ὁ Πολύβιος ἐπιτιμῶν τοῖς τὴν
(xxxvii. 9 τύχην καὶ τὴν εἱμαρμένην ἐπιγράφουσιν ἐπί τε τὰς
(xxxvii. 4) κοινὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰς κατ᾽ ἰδίαν περιπετείας, νῦν βούλομαι περὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους διαστείλασθαι καθ᾽ ὅσον ὁ τῆς πραγματικῆς ἱστορίας ἐπιδέχεται
2 τρόπος. ὧν μὲν νὴ Δί᾽ ἀδύνατον ἢ δυσχερὲς τὰς αἰτίας καταλαβεῖν ἄνθρωπον ὄντα, περὶ τούτων ἴσως ἄν τις ἀπορῶν ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἀναφορὰν ποιοῖτο καὶ τὴν τύχην, οἷον ὄμβρων καὶ νιφετῶν ἐξαισίων ἐπιφορὰ συνεχής, ἢ τἀναντία πάλιν αὐχμῶν καὶ πάγων καὶ διὰ ταῦτα φθορὰ καρπῶν, ὁμοίως λοιμικαὶ διαθέσεις συνεχεῖς, ἄλλα παραπλήσια τούτοις, ὧν οὐκ εὐμαρὲς τὴν αἰτίαν εὑρεῖν.
3 διόπερ εἰκότως περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀκολουθοῦντες ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν δόξαις διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν, ἱκετεύοντες καὶ θύοντες ἐξιλασκόμενοι τὸ θεῖον, πέμπομεν ἐρησόμενοι τοὺς θεοὺς τί ποτ᾽ ἂν ἢ λέγουσιν ἢ πράττουσιν ἡμῖν ἄμεινον εἴη καὶ γένοιτο παῦλα
4 τῶν ἐνεστώτων κακῶν. ὧν δὲ δυνατόν ἐστι τὴν αἰτίαν εὑρεῖν, ἐξ ἧς καὶ δι᾽ ἣν ἐγένετο τὸ συμβαῖνον, οὐχί μοι δοκεῖ τῶν τοιούτων δεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ θεῖον
5 ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀναφοράν. λέγω δ᾽ οἷον οὕτως. ἐπέσχεν ἐν τοῖς καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς καιροῖς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἀπαιδία καὶ συλλήβδην ὀλιγανθρωπία, δι᾽ ἣν αἵ τε πόλεις ἐξηρημώθησαν καὶ ἀφορίαν εἶναι συνέβαινε, καίπερ οὔτε πολέμων συνεχῶν ἐσχη-
6 κότων ἡμᾶς οὔτε λοιμικῶν περιστάσεων. εἴ τις

a dirty piece of bread, and to those who expressed their surprise said he did it . . .

V. The Macedonian War

17. For my part, says Polybius, in finding fault with those who ascribe public events and incidents in private life to Fate and Chance, I now wish to state my opinion on this subject as far as it is admissible to do so in a strictly historical work. Now indeed as regards things the causes of which it is impossible or difficult for a mere man to understand, we may perhaps be justified in getting out of the difficulty by setting them down to the action of a god or of chance, I mean such things as exceptionally heavy and continuous rain or snow, or on the other hand the destruction of crops by severe drought or frost, or a persistent outbreak of plague or other similar things of which it is not easy to detect the cause. So in regard to such matters we naturally bow to popular opinion, as we cannot make out why they happen, and attempting by prayer and sacrifice to appease the heavenly powers, we send to ask the gods what we must do and say, to set things right and cause the evil that afflicts us to cease. But as for matters the efficient and final cause of which it is possible to discover we should not, I think, put them down to divine action. For instance, take the following case. In our own time the whole of Greece has been subject to a low birth-rate and a general decrease of the population, owing to which cities have become deserted and the land has ceased to yield fruit, although there have neither been continuous wars nor epidemics. If, then, any

οὖν περὶ τούτου συνεβούλευσεν εἰς θεοὺς πέμπειν
ἐρησομένους τί ποτ' ἂν ἢ λέγοντες ἢ πράττοντες
πλείονες γινοίμεθα καὶ κάλλιον οἰκοίημεν τὰς
πόλεις, ἆρ' οὐ μάταιος ἂν ἐφαίνετο, τῆς αἰτίας
προφανοῦς ὑπαρχούσης καὶ τῆς διορθώσεως ἐν
7 ἡμῖν κειμένης; τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων εἰς ἀλαζονείαν
καὶ φιλοχρημοσύνην, ἔτι δὲ ῥᾳθυμίαν ἐκτετραμ-
μένων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων μήτε γαμεῖν μήτ', ἐὰν
γήμωσι, τὰ γινόμενα τέκνα τρέφειν, ἀλλὰ μόλις
ἓν τῶν πλείστων ἢ δύο χάριν τοῦ πλουσίους τού-
τους καταλιπεῖν καὶ σπαταλῶντας θρέψαι, ταχέως
8 ἔλαθε τὸ κακὸν αὐξηθέν. ὅτε γὰρ ἑνὸς ὄντος ἢ
δυεῖν, τούτων τὸν μὲν πόλεμος, τὸν δὲ νόσος ἐν-
στᾶσα παρείλετο, δῆλον ὡς ἀνάγκη καταλείπεσθαι
τὰς οἰκήσεις ἐρήμους, καὶ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν μελιτ-
τῶν τὰ σμήνη, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον κατὰ βραχὺ καὶ
9 τὰς πόλεις ἀπορουμένας ἀδυνατεῖν. ὑπὲρ ὧν
οὐδὲ χρεία παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πυνθάνεσθαι πῶς ἂν
10 ἀπολυθείημεν τῆς τοιαύτης βλάβης· ὁ γὰρ τυχὼν
τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐρεῖ διότι μάλιστα μὲν αὐτοὶ δι'
αὑτῶν, μεταθέμενοι τὸν ζῆλον, εἰ δὲ μή, νόμους
γράψαντες, ἵνα τρέφηται τὰ γινόμενα. περὶ τού-
11 των οὔτε μάντεων οὔτε τερατειῶν χρεία. ὁ δ'
12 αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ περὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος. ἀλλ'
ἐπ' ἐκείνων ἐφ' ὧν ἀλήπτους ἢ δυσλήπτους εἶναι
τὰς αἰτίας συμβαίνει, διαπορητέον· ὧν ἓν ἦν
13 καὶ τὸ περὶ Μακεδόνας γεγενημένον. Μακεδόνες
μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων
ἐτετεύχεισαν φιλανθρωπιῶν, κοινῇ μὲν πάντες
ἀπολυθέντες μοναρχικῶν ἐπιταγμάτων καὶ φόρων
καὶ μεταλαβόντες ἀπὸ δουλείας ὁμολογουμένως
ἐλευθερίαν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ πάλιν κατὰ πόλεις ἐκλυθέντες

one had advised us to send and ask the gods about this, and find out what we ought to say or do, to increase in number and make our cities more populous, would it not seem absurd, the cause of the evil being evident and the remedy being in our own hands? For as men had fallen into such a state of pretentiousness, avarice, and indolence that they did not wish to marry, or if they married to rear the children born to them, or at most as a rule but one or two of them, so as to leave these in affluence and bring them up to waste their substance, the evil rapidly and insensibly grew. For in cases where of one or two children the one was carried off by war and the other by sickness, it is evident that the houses must have been left unoccupied, and as in the case of swarms of bees, so by small degrees cities became resourceless and feeble. About this it was of no use at all to ask the gods to suggest a means of deliverance from such an evil. For any ordinary man will tell you that the most effectual cure had to be men's own action, in either striving after other objects, or if not, in passing laws making it compulsory to rear children. Neither prophets nor magic were here of any service, and the same holds good for all particulars. But in cases where it is either impossible or difficult to detect the cause the question is open to doubt. One such case is that of Macedonia. For the Macedonians had met with many signal favours from Rome; the country as a whole had been delivered from the arbitrary rule and taxation of autocrats, and, as all confessed, now enjoyed freedom in place of servitude, and the several cities had, owing to the beneficent action

ἐκ μεγάλων στάσεων καὶ φόνων ἐμφυλίων διὰ τῆς
Ῥωμαίων . . . . . . πλείστους ἐπεῖδον αὐτῶν ἐν
πάνυ βραχεῖ χρόνῳ φυγαδευθέντας καὶ στρεβλω-
θέντας καὶ φονευθέντας ἢ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πρότερον
καιροῖς ὑπὸ τῶν κατ᾽ ἀλήθειαν βασι<λέων> . . . .·
14 οἱ δὲ μετὰ μὲν τοῦ Δημητρίου καὶ πάλιν μετὰ
Περσέως μαχόμενοι πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἡττήθησαν,
ἀνδρὶ <δὲ> στυγνῷ συναγωνιζόμενοι καὶ περὶ
τῆς τούτου βασιλείας ἀνδραγαθήσαντες ἐνίκησαν
15 Ῥωμαίους. ἐξ ὧν τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπαπορήσειεν ἐπὶ
τῷ συμβάντι; τὴν γὰρ αἰτίαν εὑρεῖν τούτων
δυσχερές. διόπερ ἄν τις ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων δια-
θέσεων δαιμονοβλάβειαν εἴπειε τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ
μῆνιν ἐκ θεῶν ἅπασι Μακεδόσιν ἀπηντῆσθαι.
δῆλον δ᾽ ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν λέγεσθαι μελλόντων.

of Rome, been freed from serious civil discord and internecine massacres. . . . But now they witnessed in quite a short time more of their citizens exiled, tortured and murdered by this false Philip than by any of their previous real kings. . . . But while they were defeated by the Romans in fighting for Demetrius and Perseus, yet now fighting for a hateful man and displaying great valour in defence of his throne, they worsted the Romans. How can anyone fail to be nonplused by such an event? for here it is most difficult to detect the cause. So that in pronouncing on this and similar phenomena we may well say that the thing was a heaven-sent infatuation, and that all the Macedonians were visited by the wrath of God, as will be evident from what follows.

FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXVIII

I. Ex Prooemio

1 (3) Ὅτι ἡ λη′ βίβλος περιέχει τὴν συντέλειαν τῆς
(1a) 2 τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀτυχίας. καίπερ γὰρ τῆς Ἑλ-
λάδος καὶ καθόλου καὶ κατὰ μέρος πλεονάκις
ἐπταικυίας, ὅμως οὐδ᾽ ὁποίοις ἄν τις τῶν πρότερον
ἐλαττωμάτων οἰκειότερον ἐφαρμόσαι τὸ τῆς ἀτυ-
χίας ὄνομα καὶ τὴν ἔννοιαν ταύτην ὡς τοῖς καθ᾽
3 ἡμᾶς γεγονόσιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἔπαθον
ἐλεήσαι τις ἂν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἐφ᾽
οἷς ἔπραξαν ἠτυχηκέναι νομίσειε, πυθόμενος περὶ
4 ἑκάστων τὰς ἀληθείας. δοκοῦντος γοῦν μεγίστου
πάθους γεγονέναι τοῦ περὶ τοὺς Καρχηδονίους
οὐκ ἔλαττον ἄν τις ἡγήσαιτο, κατὰ δέ τι μεῖζον τὸ
5 περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τότε συμβάν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τόπον
ἔσχατον ἀπολογίας γε πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιγινομένους
περὶ σφῶν ἀπέλειπον, οὗτοι δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἀφορμὴν
εὔλογον ἔδοσαν τοῖς βουλομένοις σφίσι βοηθεῖν
6 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἡμαρτημένων. καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν
ἅμα ταῖς περιπετείαις ἄρδην ἀφανισθέντες ἀνεπ-
αίσθητοι τῶν σφετέρων εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἐγένοντο
συμπτωμάτων, οἱ δ᾽ Ἕλληνες ἐφορῶντες τὰς
αὑτῶν ἀτυχίας παισὶ παίδων παραδόσιμον ἐποίησαν
7 τὴν ἀκληρίαν. ὥστε καθ᾽ ὅσον τοὺς ζῶντας μετὰ

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXVIII

I. From the Introduction

1. The thirty-eighth Book contains the completion of the disaster of Greece. For though both the whole of Greece and her several parts had often met with mischance, yet to none of her former defeats can we more fittingly apply the name of disaster with all it signifies than to the events of my own time. For not only are the Greeks to be pitied for what they suffered, but we cannot fail to think that what they did was still more disastrous to them when we know the truth in detail. The ruin of Carthage is indeed considered to have been the greatest of calamities, but when we come to think of it the fate of Greece was no less terrible and in some ways even more so. For the Carthaginians at least left to posterity some ground, however slight, for defending their cause, but the Greeks gave no plausible pretext to any one who wishes to support them and acquit them of error. And again the Carthaginians, having been utterly exterminated by the calamity which overtook them, were for the future insensible of their sufferings, but the Greeks, continuing to witness their calamities, handed on from father to son the memory of their misfortune. So that inasmuch

147–146 B.C.

τιμωρίας ἐλεεινοτέρους νομίζομεν τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐκλειπόντων τὸν βίον, κατὰ τοσοῦτο καὶ τὰς τότε περιπετείας τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλεεινοτέρας νομιστέον τῶν συμβάντων Καρχηδονίοις,
8 ἐὰν μή τις ἀφροντιστῶν τοῦ καθήκοντος καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, πρὸς αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ συμφέρον ἀποβλέπων
9 ποιῆται τὴν ἀπόφασιν. ὅτι δ' ἔστι τὸ νῦν εἰρημένον ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀληθές, εἴποι τις ἂν ὑπομνησθεὶς καὶ παρα<θεὶς> τὰς δοκούσας μεγίστας συμφορὰς γεγονέναι κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρὸς τὰ νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενα.

2 (4) (1b) Μέγιστον ἡ τύχη δοκεῖ φόβον ἐπιστῆσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατὰ τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν εἰς τὴν Εὐρώ-
2 πην· τότε γὰρ ἐκινδύνευσαν μὲν πάντες, ἔπταισαν δὲ τελέως ὀλίγιστοι, μάλιστα δὲ τούτων Ἀθηναῖοι·
3 προϊδόμενοι γὰρ ἐμφρόνως τὸ μέλλον ἐξέλιπον
4 τὴν πατρίδα μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν. βλάβην μὲν οὖν ὁ καιρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπήνεγκε· κύριοι γὰρ γενηθέντες οἱ βάρβαροι πικρῶς διέφθειραν τὰς Ἀθήνας· οὐ μὴν ὄνειδος οὐδ' αἰσχύνην, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον εὔκλειαν παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν μεγίστην ἀπηνέγκαντο <δι>ότι πάντ' ἐν ἐλάττονι θέμενοι τῆς αὐτῆς τύχης εἵλαντο κοινωνεῖν τοῖς
5 ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι. τοιγαροῦν καλῇ χρησάμενοι προαιρέσει, παρὰ πόδας οὐ μόνον ἀνεκτήσαντο τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν χώραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας μετ' ὀλίγον
6 ἠμφισβήτουν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν καταπολεμηθέντες εἰς τοῦτ' ἀνάγκης ἦλθον ὥστε καθελεῖν τὰ τείχη
7 τῆς αὐτῶν πατρίδος. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐκ Ἀθηναίων ἄν τις εἶναι φήσειε τοὔγ-

as we consider that those who remain alive and suffer punishment are more to be pitied than those who perished in the actual struggle, we should consider the calamities that then befel Greece more worthy of pity than the fate of Carthage, unless in pronouncing on the matter we discard all notion of what is decorous and noble, and keep our eyes only on material advantage. Every one will acknowledge the truth of what I say if he recalls what are thought to have been the greatest misfortunes that had befallen Greece and compares them with my present narrative

2. The greatest terror with which fortune afflicted Greece is supposed to have been the crossing of Xerxes to Europe. For then we all were in danger but very few came to grief; first and foremost the Athenians, who, intelligently foreseeing what would happen, abandoned their city, taking their wives and children with them. Of course at the time they suffered severe damage, for the barbarians became masters of Athens and destroyed the town pitilessly. They did not, however, incur any reproach or shame, but on the contrary their action was universally regarded as being most glorious, in that, regardless of what might happen to themselves, they decided to throw in their fortunes with the rest of Greece. And in consequence, by this brave resolve, not only did they at once recover their fatherland and their country, but were soon disputing with Sparta the hegemony of Greece. And subsequently, when they were crushed in the war with Sparta, they were actually forced to pull down the walls of their own city; but it must be said that the fault here lay not with the Athenians

κλημα, διότι βαρύτερον ἐχρήσαντο τῇ δοθείσῃ
8 σφίσι παρὰ τῆς τύχης ἐξουσίᾳ. Σπαρτιᾶται <δ'>
ἡττηθέντες ὑπὸ Θηβαίων πάλιν ἀπέβαλον τὴν
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίαν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τῆς τῶν
ἐκτὸς ἀρχῆς ἀποστάντες συνεκλείσθησαν εἰς τοὺς
9 τῆς Λακωνικῆς ὅρους. καὶ τί δὴ τοῦτ' αἰσχρόν,
εἰ περὶ τῶν καλλίστων ἀμφισβητοῦντες ἐπὶ το-
σοῦτον ἔπταισαν ὥστε πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν πάτριον ἀνα-
10 χωρῆσαι δυναστείαν; διὸ τὰ γεγονότα ταῦτα
συμπτώματα μὲν εἶναι φατέον, ἀτυχήματα δ'
11 οὐδαμῶς ῥητέον. Μαντινεῖς ἠναγκάσθησαν ἐκ-
λιπεῖν τὴν πατρίδα διοικισθέντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαι-
μονίων καὶ διασπασθέντες οἰκῆσαι κατὰ κώμας·
12 ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐ τὴν τῶν Μαντινέων
ἀβουλίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ὠνείδιζον.
13 Θηβαῖοι μετά τινα χρόνον ἄρδην ἐπεῖδον τὴν
αὑτῶν πατρίδα γενομένην ἀνάστατον, ὅτε προ-
θέμενος Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβαίνειν
ὑπέλαβε διὰ τῆς εἰς Θηβαίους τιμωρίας τῷ φόβῳ
φρουρήσειν τοὺς Ἕλληνας κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους περι-
14 σπασμούς· ἀλλὰ τότε πάντες ἠλέουν μὲν τοὺς
Θηβαίους ὡς ἄδικα καὶ δεινὰ πεπονθότας, δι-
εδικαίου δὲ τὴν πρᾶξιν ταύτην οὐδεὶς Ἀλεξάνδρου.
3 (5) τοιγαροῦν βραχεῖ χρόνῳ τυχόντες ἐπικουρίας τινὸς
(1c) 2 αὖθις ᾤκουν τὴν πατρίδα μετ' ἀσφαλείας. ὁ γὰρ
παρὰ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἔλεος οὐ μικρὸν ἐπίχειρόν ἐστι
τοῖς ἀδίκως ἀκληροῦσιν, εἴ γε πολλάκις ἰδεῖν
ἔστιν ἅμα ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν ὁρμαῖς καὶ τὴν τύχην
μεταβαλλομένην καὶ τοὺς κρατοῦντας αὐτοὺς μετα-
μελομένους καὶ διορθουμένους τὰς τῶν παραλόγως
3 ἠτυχηκότων περιπετείας. πάλιν ἐπείθοντο κατά
τινας καιροὺς Χαλκιδεῖς καὶ Κορίνθιοι καί τινες

but with the Lacedaemonians, who made an oppressive use of the power that Fortune had placed in their hands. The Spartans again in their turn when defeated by the Thebans lost the hegemony of Greece, and afterwards renouncing all projects of foreign conquest were confined to the limits of Laconia. And what disgrace was there in this, if after struggling for the highest prize they so far failed that they had to retire once more to their ancestral dominions? So all these events may be described as misfortunes but not by any means as disasters. The Mantineans again were compelled to abandon their city when the Spartans dispersed them and broke them up and to live in villages. But every one in this case blamed the Spartans, and not the Mantineans for their unwisdom. The Thebans some time afterwards witnessed the utter destruction of their city when Alexander, intending to cross to Asia, thought that by chastising the Thebans he would frighten the other cities into subjection to him while he was otherwise occupied. But then every one pitied the Thebans for the cruel and unjust treatment they suffered, and no one attempted to justify this act of Alexander. 3. And consequently in a short time with some slight assistance they were able to restore their city and again dwell safely in it. For the compassion of others is no small help to those who have suffered undeserved misfortune, and we often see that general sympathy is attended by a change of Fortune and that those in power themselves repent of their conduct and repair the calamity that they unjustifiably inflicted. Again for a certain time Chalcis, Corinth and some

ἕτεραι πόλεις διὰ τὴν τῶν τόπων εὐφυΐαν τοῖς
4 ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλεῦσι καὶ φρουρὰς εἶχον· ἀλλὰ
τοὺς μὲν δουλεύοντας πάντες ἐσπούδαζον κατὰ
δύναμιν ἐλευθεροῦν, τοὺς δὲ καταδουλωσαμένους
5 ἐμίσουν καὶ πολεμίους ἡγοῦντο διὰ τέλους. καθ-
όλου δὲ κατὰ πόλεις ἔπταιον καὶ κατὰ πόλιν ἐσφάλ-
λοντο τὸν πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον ὡς ἐπίπαν, οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ
ἡγεμονίας καὶ πραγμάτων ἀμφισβητοῦντες, οἱ δ᾽
ὑπὸ μονάρχων καὶ βασιλέων παρασπονδούμενοι·
6 διὸ καὶ σπανίους ἂν εὕροις <οἷς> ὄνειδος ἠκολούθει
τῶν ἀκληρούντων ἢ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀτυχίας ὄνομα
7 διέμενεν· ἀκληρεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἅπαντας ἡγητέον καὶ
κοινῇ καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν τοὺς παραλόγοις συμφοραῖς
περιπίπτοντας, ἀτυχεῖν δὲ μόνους τούτους οἷς διὰ
τὴν ἰδίαν ἀβουλίαν ὄνειδος αἱ πράξεις ἐπιφέρουσι.
8 κατὰ <δὲ> τοὺς ὑποκειμένους καιροὺς ἠτύχησαν
ἅμα Πελοποννήσιοι, Βοιωτοί, Φωκεῖς, ... εῖς,
Λοκροί, τινὲς τῶν τὸν Ἰόνιον κατοικούντων
9 κόλπον, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἔτι Μακεδόνες· . . . . μὴ
μόνον κατὰ τὸ πλῆθος . . . . . . τῶν πρότε-
ρον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ . . . . . . ἐπίπαν οὐκ ἠκλή-
ρησαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἠτύχησαν ἀτυχίαν αἰσχρὰν ὡς ἔνι
10 μάλιστα καὶ ἐπονείδιστον· ἅμα μὲν γὰρ ἀπιστίαν,
ἅμα δ᾽ ἀνανδρίαν ἔδειξαν, καὶ πράξεις αὑτοῖς
11 ἐπήνεγκαν διὰ τὴν ἀτ . . . . . . ἅμα. τοιγαρ-
οῦν στερηθέντες πάντων τῶν καλῶν οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ
στέ . . . . , ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ δ . . . . . . ντες εἰς τὰς
πόλεις τότε παρεδέξαντο ῥάβδους καὶ πελέκεις
12 ἔθελο . . . . .· ἐν μεγάλῳ γὰρ φόβῳ διὰ τὴν
<ὑπερ>βολ<ὴν> τῶν ἰδίων ἁμ<αρτημάτων ἦσαν,
13 εἰ χρ>ὴ <λέγειν> ἰδίων· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἠγνοηκέναι <μὲν
φαίην ἂν τοὺς> πολ<λοὺς> καὶ παραπεπαικέναι

other cities owing to their favourable situations were obliged to obey the kings of Macedonia and to receive garrisons. But in this case all did their best to free them from slavery and looked with hatred and persistent enmity on those who had subjected them to it. To speak generally, they were single cities or groups of cities which in former times came to grief, some of them contending for supremacy or practical objects and others treacherously seized by despots and kings. So that in very few cases did the victims of misfortune incur reproach or did they continue to be spoken of as having met with disaster. For we should consider that all states or individuals who meet with exceptional calamities are unfortunate, but that only those whose own folly brings reproach on them suffer disaster. In the time I am speaking of a common misfortune befel the Peloponnesians, the Boeotians, the Phocians, the Euboeans, the Locrians, some of the cities on the Ionian Gulf, and finally the Macedonians . . . not resulting merely from the number of defeats they suffered, far from it, but by their whole conduct they brought on themselves no misfortune, but a disaster as disgraceful and discreditable as it could be. For they showed both faithlessness and cowardice and brought on their heads all this trouble. . . . Therefore they lost every shred of honour, and for various reasons consented to receive the Roman lictors into their cities, in such terror were they owing to their own offences, if they must be called their own. For I should rather say that the people in general acted

<τοῦ καθήκοντος>, ἡμαρτ<ηκέναι δὲ τοὺς αἰτίους>
γεγονότας τῆς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀγνοίας.
4 (6) Ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐ δεήσει θαυμάζειν ἐὰν παρεκβαίνον-
(1[d]) τες τὸ τῆς ἱστορικῆς διηγήσεως ἦθος ἐπιδεικτι-
κωτέραν καὶ φιλοτιμοτέραν φαινώμεθα ποιούμενοι
2 περὶ αὐτῶν τὴν ἀπαγγελίαν. καίτοι τινὲς ἴσως
ἐπιτιμήσουσιν ἡμῖν ὡς φιλαπεχθῶς ποιουμένοις
τὴν γραφήν, οἷς καθῆκον ἦν μάλιστα πάντων
3 περιστέλλειν τὰς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἁμαρτίας. ἐγὼ
δ᾽ οὔτε φίλον οὐδέποτ᾽ ἂν ὑπολαμβάνω γνήσιον
νομισθῆναι παρὰ τοῖς ὀρθῶς φρονοῦσι τὸν δεδιότα
4 καὶ φοβούμενον τοὺς μετὰ παρρησίας λόγους, καὶ
μὴν οὐδὲ πολίτην ἀγαθὸν τὸν ἐγκαταλείποντα τὴν
ἀλήθειαν διὰ τὴν ἐσομένην ὑπ᾽ ἐνίων προσκοπὴν
5 παρ᾽ αὐτὸν τὸν καιρόν· συγγραφέα δὲ κοινῶν
πράξεων οὐδ᾽ ὅλως ἀποδεκτέον τὸν ἄλλο τι περὶ
6 πλείονος ποιούμενον τῆς ἀληθείας. ὅσῳ γὰρ εἰς
πλείους διατείνει καὶ ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον ἡ <διὰ>
τῶν ὑπομνημάτων παράδοσις τῶν πρὸς καιρὸν
λεγομένων, τοσούτῳ χρὴ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸν γράφοντα
περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν καὶ τοὺς
ἀκούοντας ἀποδέχεσθαι τὴν τοιαύτην αἵρεσιν.
7 κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς τῶν περιστάσεων καιροὺς
καθήκει βοηθεῖν τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὄντας τοῖς Ἕλλησι
κατὰ πάντα τρόπον, τὰ μὲν ἀμύνοντας, τὰ δὲ περι-
στέλλοντας, τὰ δὲ παραιτουμένους τὴν τῶν κρα-
τούντων ὀργήν· ὅπερ ἡμεῖς ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν πραγ-
8 μάτων ἐποιήσαμεν ἀληθινῶς· τὴν <δ᾽> ὑπὲρ τῶν
γεγονότων τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις διὰ τῶν ὑπομνημά-
των παράδοσιν ἀμιγῆ παντὸς ψεύδους ἀπολεί-
πεσθαι χάριν τοῦ μὴ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς τέρπεσθαι κατὰ
τὸ παρὸν τοὺς ἀναγινώσκοντας, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ψυχαῖς

mistakenly and failed in their duty, but that the actual authors of the mistakes were the real offenders.

4. It should not surprise anyone if abandoning here the style proper to historical narrative I express myself in a more declamatory and ambitious manner. Some, however, may reproach me for writing with undue animosity, it being rather my first duty to throw a veil over the offences of the Greeks. Now neither do I think that a man who is timid and afraid of speaking his mind should be regarded by those qualified to judge as a sincere friend, nor that a man should be regarded as a good citizen who leaves the path of truth because he is afraid of giving temporary offence to certain persons; and in a writer of political history we should absolutely refuse to tolerate the least preference for anything but the truth. For inasmuch as a literary record of facts will reach more ears and last longer than occasional utterances, a writer should attach the highest value to truth and his readers should approve his principle in this respect. In times of danger it is true those who are Greek should help the Greeks in every way, by active support, by cloaking faults and by trying to appease the anger of the ruling power, as I myself actually did at the time of the occurrences; but the literary record of the events meant for posterity should be kept free from any taint of falsehood, so that instead of the ears of readers being agreeably tickled for the present, their minds may be reformed

διορθοῦσθαι πρὸς τὸ μὴ πλεονάκις ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς
9 διασφάλλεσθαι. καὶ περὶ <μὲν> τούτων ἐπὶ τοσοῦ-
τον ἡμῖν εἰρήσθω.

5 Οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοῶ διότι τινὲς ἐπιλήψονται τῆς
(xxxix. 1) πραγματείας, φάσκοντες ἀτελῆ καὶ διερριμμένην
(xxxix. 1[a]) ἡμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι τὴν ἐξήγησιν τῶν πραγμάτων,
2 <εἴγ'> ἐπιβαλλόμενοι γὰρ λόγου χάριν διεξιέναι
τὴν Καρχηδόνος πολιορκίαν, κἄπειτα μεταξὺ ταύ-
την ἀπολιπόντες καὶ μεσολαβήσαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς
μεταβαίνομεν ἐπὶ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς κἀντεῦθεν ἐπὶ
τὰς Μακεδονικὰς ἢ Συριακὰς ἤ τινας ἑτέρας
3 πράξεις· ζητεῖν δὲ τοὺς φιλομαθοῦντας τὸ συνεχὲς
καὶ τὸ τέλος ἱμείρειν ἀκοῦσαι τῆς προθέσεως· καὶ
γὰρ τὴν ψυχαγωγίαν καὶ τὴν ὠφέλειαν οὕτω μᾶλλον
4 συνεκτρέχειν τοῖς προσέχουσιν. ἐμοὶ δ' οὐχ
οὕτως δοκεῖ, τὸ δ' ἐναντίον. μάρτυρα δὲ τούτων
ἐπικαλεσαίμην ἂν αὐτὴν τὴν φύσιν, ἥτις κατ' οὐδ'
ὁποίαν τῶν αἰσθήσεων εὐδοκεῖ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπι-
μένειν κατὰ τὸ συνεχές, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ μεταβολῆς ἐστιν
οἰκεία, τοῖς δ' αὐτοῖς ἐγκυρεῖν ἐκ διαστήματος
5 βούλεται καὶ διαφορᾶς. εἴη δ' ἂν τὸ λεγόμενον
ἐναργὲς πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀκοῆς, ἥτις οὔτε κατὰ
τὰς μελῳδίας οὔτε κατὰ τὰς λεκτικὰς ὑποκρίσεις
εὐδοκεῖ συνεχῶς ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐπιμένειν στάσεσιν,
6 ὁ δὲ μεταβολικὸς τρόπος καὶ καθόλου πᾶν τὸ
διερριμμένον καὶ μεγίστας ἔχον ἀλλαγὰς καὶ
7 πυκνοτάτας αὐτὴν κινεῖ. παραπλησίως καὶ τὴν
γεῦσιν εὕροι τις ἂν οὐδὲ τοῖς πολυτελεστάτοις
βρώμασιν ἐπιμένειν δυναμένην, ἀλλὰ σικχαίνου-
σαν καὶ χαίρουσαν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς καὶ προσηνε-
στέρως ἀποδεχομένην πολλάκις καὶ τὰ λιτὰ τῶν
8 ἐδεσμάτων ἢ τὰ πολυτελῆ διὰ τὸν ξενισμόν. τὸ

in order to avoid their falling more than once into the same errors. Enough on this subject.

5. I am not unaware that some people will find fault with this work on the ground that my narrative of events is imperfect and disconnected. For example, after undertaking to give an account of the siege of Carthage I leave that in suspense and interrupting myself pass to the affairs of Greece, and next to those of Macedonia, Syria and other countries, while students desire continuous narrative and long to learn the issue of the matter I first set my hand to; for thus, they say, those who desire to follow me with attention are both more deeply interested in the story and derive greater benefit from it. My opinion is just the reverse of this; and I would appeal to the testimony of Nature herself, who in the case of any of the senses never elects to go on persistently with the same allurements, but is ever fond of change and desires to meet with the same things after an interval and a difference. What I mean may be illustrated in the first place from the sense of hearing, which never either as regards melodies or recitation readily consents to give ear persistently to the same strain, but is touched by a diversified style and by everything that is disconnected and marked by abrupt and frequent transitions. Take again the sense of taste. You will find that it is incapable of constantly enjoying the most luxurious viands but becomes disgusted with them and likes change, often preferring quite simple dishes to expensive ones merely owing to their

δ' αὐτὸ καὶ περὶ τὴν ὅρασιν ἴδοι τις ἂν γινόμενον·
ἥκιστα γὰρ δύναται πρὸς ἓν μένειν ἀτενίζουσα,
κινεῖ δ' αὐτὴν ἡ ποικιλία καὶ μεταβολὴ τῶν ὁρω-
9 μένων. μάλιστα δὲ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦτό τις ἂν
ἴδοι συμβαῖνον· αἱ γὰρ μεταλήψεις τῶν ἀτενισμῶν
καὶ τῶν ἐπιστάσεων οἷον ἀναπαύσεις εἰσὶ τοῖς
6 φιλοπόνοις τῶν ἀνδρῶν. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων
(xxxix. 2) συγγραφέων οἱ λογιώτατοι δοκοῦσί μοι προσανα-
(xxxix. 1b) πεπαῦσθαι τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ, τινὲς μὲν μυθικαῖς
καὶ διηγηματικαῖς κεχρημένοι παρεκβάσεσι, τινὲς
δὲ καὶ πραγματικαῖς, ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἐν αὐτοῖς
τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόποις ποιεῖσθαι τὰς
μεταβάσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς περιλαμβάνειν.
2 λέγω δ' οἷον ἐπειδὰν τὰ κατὰ τὴν Θετταλίαν
ἐξηγούμενοι καὶ τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Φεραίου
πράξεις μεταξὺ τὰς κατὰ Πελοπόννησον Λακε-
δαιμονίων ἐπιβολὰς διηγῶνται, καὶ πάλιν τὰς
Ἀθηναίων, ἔτι δὲ τὰ κατὰ Μακεδονίαν ἢ τὴν
Ἰλλυρίδα, κἄπειτα διατρίψαντες λέγωσι τὴν Ἰφι-
κράτους εἰς Αἴγυπτον στρατείαν καὶ τὰ Κλεάρχῳ
3 πραχθέντα παρανομήματα κατὰ τὸν Πόντον. ἐξ
ὧν κεχρημένους μὲν ἅπαντας εὕροι τις ἂν τῷ
τοιούτῳ χειρισμῷ, κεχρημένους γε μὴν ἀτάκτως,
4 ἡμᾶς δὲ τεταγμένως. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ μνησθέντες
πῶς Βάρδυλλις ὁ τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ
Κερσοβλέπτης ὁ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν κατεκτήσαντο τὰς
δυναστείας, οὐκέτι προστιθέασι τὸ συνεχές, οὐδ'
ἀνατρέχουσιν ἐπὶ τἀκόλουθον ἐκ διαστήματος,
ἀλλὰ καθάπερ ἐν ποιήματι χρησάμενοι πάλιν ἐπαν-
5 άγουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑποθέσεις. ἡμεῖς δὲ
πάντας διῃρημένοι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους τόπους
τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τὰς ἐν τούτοις πράξεις καὶ

novelty. And the same holds good as regards the sense of sight. For it is quite incapable of gazing constantly at one object, but requires variety and change to captivate it. But this is especially true as regards the intellect. For hard workers find a sort of rest in change of the subjects which absorb and interest them. 6. And this, I think, is why the most thoughtful of ancient writers were in the habit of giving their readers a rest in the way I say, some of them employing digressions dealing with myth or story and others digressions on matters of fact; so that not only do they shift the scene from one part of Greece to another, but include doings abroad. For instance, when dealing with Thessalian affairs and the exploits of Alexander of Pherae, they interrupt the narrative to tell us of the projects of the Lacedaemonians in the Peloponnese or of those of the Athenians and of what happened in Macedonia or Illyria, and after entertaining us so tell us of the expedition of Iphicrates to Egypt and the excesses committed by Clearchus in Pontus. So that you will find that all historians have resorted to this device but have done so irregularly, while I myself resort to it regularly. For the authors I allude to, after mentioning how Bardyllis, the king of Illyria, and Cersobleptes, the king of Thrace, acquired their kingdoms, do not give us the continuation or carry us on to what proved to be the sequel after a certain lapse of time, but after inserting these matters as a sort of patch, return to their original subject. But I myself, keeping distinct all the most important parts of the world and the events that took place in each,

μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔφοδον ἀεὶ ποιούμενοι κατὰ τὴν τάξιν τῆς διαλήψεως, ἔτι δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ὡρισμένως ἐξηγούμενοι τὰς καταλλήλους πράξεις
6 ἐνεστηκυίας, ἀπολείπομεν πρόδηλον τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσι τὴν ἐπα<να>γωγὴν ἐπὶ τὸν συνεχῆ λόγον καὶ τὰς μεσολαβηθείσας ἀεὶ τῶν πράξεων, ὥστε μηδὲν ἀτελὲς μηδ' ἐλλιπὲς γίνεσθαι τοῖς φιληκόοις
7 τῶν προειρημένων. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον.

II. Bellum Punicum Tertium

7 (1) (xxxix. 1) Ὅτι Ἀσδρούβας ὁ στρατηγὸς Καρχηδονίων κενόδοξος ἦν ἀλαζὼν καὶ πολὺ κεχωρισμένος τῆς
2 πραγματικῆς καὶ στρατηγικῆς δυνάμεως. πολλὰ δὲ σημεῖα τῆς ἀκρισίας αὐτοῦ. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ παρῆν ἐν πανοπλίᾳ, πορφυρίδα θαλαττίαν ἐπιπεπορπημένος, ἡνίκα Γολόσσῃ συνεγίνετο τῷ τῶν Νομάδων βασιλεῖ, μετὰ μαχαιροφόρων δέκα.
3 ἔπειτα προβὰς ἀπὸ τῶν δέχ' ὅσον εἴκοσι πόδας ἀπέστη, προβεβλημένος τάφρον καὶ χάρακα, καὶ κατένευε τῷ βασιλεῖ προσιέναι πρὸς αὐτόν, καθ-
4 ῆκον γίνεσθαι τοὐναντίον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὁ Γολόσσης ἀφελῶς ἔχων Νομαδικῷ τινι τρόπῳ μόνος προσῄει πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ προσεγγίσας ἤρετο τίνα
5 φοβούμενος τὴν πανοπλίαν ἔχων ἥκε. τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος ὅτι Ῥωμαίους, "οὐκ ἂν ἄρ'" ἔφησεν ὁ Γολόσσης "ἔδωκας σαυτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, μηδεμίαν ἔχων ἀνάγκην. πλὴν τί βούλει καὶ τί
6 παρακαλεῖς;" φησίν. ὁ δ' Ἀσδρούβας "ἐγώ" φησὶ "πρεσβευτήν σε παρακαλῶ γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ πᾶν ἀναδέχεσθαι διότι ποιήσομεν τὸ προσταττόμενον· μόνον ἀπόσχεσθε τῆς

and adhering always to a uniform conception of how each matter should be treated, and again definitely relating under each year the contemporary events that then took place, leave obviously full liberty to students to carry back their minds to the continuous narrative and the several points at which I interrupted it, so that those who wish to learn may find none of the matters I have mentioned imperfect and deficient. This is all I have to say on the subject.

II. The Third Punic War

7. Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian general, was an empty-headed braggart and very far from being a competent statesman or general. There are many evidences of his lack of judgement. To begin with, at his meeting with Golosses, king of the Numidians, he appeared in a complete suit of armour over which was fastened a cloak of sea purple and with a retinue of ten swordsmen. Then advancing in front of these ten men he remained at a distance of about twenty feet from the king protected by a trench and palisade, and made signs to him to come to him, while it ought to have been the reverse. However, Golosses with true Numidian simplicity advanced to him unaccompanied, and when he approached him asked him in fear of whom he had come thus armed cap-a-pie. Hasdrubal answered, "In fear of the Romans." "But then," said Golosses, "you would scarcely have trusted yourself in the town without any necessity. But what do you want, what is your request?" "I beg you," answered Hasdrubal, "to act as my envoy to the general, and I consent on my part to submit to any terms, if only they will spare this

7 ταλαιπώρου πόλεως ταύτης." καὶ [ὁ] Γολόσσης
"παιδικὴν δοκεῖς μοι" φησὶν "ἀξίωσιν ἀξιοῦν,
8 ὦ βέλτιστε· ὑπὲρ ὧν γὰρ ἐξ ἀκεραίου πρεσβεύοντες,
ἔτι καθημένων ἐν Ἰτύκῃ Ῥωμαίων, οὐκ ἐδύνασθε
πείθειν, τίνι λόγῳ νῦν ἀξιοῖς ταῦτά σοι συγ-
χωρεῖσθαι, περιτετειχισμένος καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ
κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ σχεδὸν ἁπάσας ἀπεγνωκὼς τὰς
9 τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπίδας;" ὁ δ' Ἀσδρούβας ἀγνοεῖν
αὐτὸν ἔφη· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔξωθεν συμμάχοις
ἀκμὴν καλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν· οὐ γάρ πω τὰ περὶ
τοὺς Μαυρουσίους ἠκηκόει καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν
ὑπαίθρων δυνάμεων [ὅτι σώζονται]· καὶ <μὴν>
οὐκ ἀπελπίζειν τὰ καθ' αὑτούς, μάλιστα δὲ πεποι-
θέναι τῇ τῶν θεῶν συμμαχίᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἐν ἐκείνοις
10 ἐλπίσιν· οὐ γὰρ περιόψεσθαι σφᾶς προφανῶς παρα-
σπονδουμένους, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς δώσειν ἀφορμὰς πρὸς
11 σωτηρίαν. διὸ παρακαλεῖν ἠξίου τὸν στρατηγὸν
καὶ τῶν θεῶν ἕνεκεν καὶ τῆς τύχης φείσασθαι
τῆς πόλεως, εἰδότα σαφῶς διότι μὴ δυνάμενοι
τυχεῖν τούτου κατασφαγήσονται πρότερον ἢ παρα-
12 χωρήσουσι ταύτης. τότε μὲν οὖν ταῦτα καὶ
παραπλήσια διαλεχθέντες ἐχωρίσθησαν, ταξάμενοι
μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν πάλιν συμπορεύεσθαι· τοῦ
8 (2) δὲ Γολόσσου μεταδόντος τῷ στρατηγῷ περὶ τῶν
(xxxix. 2) εἰρημένων, γελάσας ὁ Πόπλιος "ταῦτα μέλλων
ἀξιοῦν" ἔφη "τοιαύτην καὶ τηλικαύτην ἀσέβειαν
εἰς τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἡμῶν ἐν<απ>εδείξω καὶ
νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχεις, παραβεβη-
2 κὼς καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμους;" τοῦ δὲ
βασιλέως βουλομένου τι προσυπομιμνήσκειν τὸν
Σκιπίωνα, καὶ μάλιστα διότι <δεῖ> συντέλειαν
3 ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι· χωρὶς γὰρ τῶν

unhappy city." "My good friend," said Golosses, "you seem to me to make a perfectly childish request. How do you expect, now you are surrounded by land and sea and have almost abandoned every hope of safety, to persuade the Romans to grant you what they refused you, when at the time they were still in Utica, you approached them with your strength yet intact?" "You are mistaken," said Hasdrubal, "for I still have good hopes of what our foreign allies may do for us." For he had not yet heard what had happened to the Moors or to his own force in the field. And he added that he was not even in despair as regards their own resources: for he chiefly relied on the support of the gods and the hope he placed in them. "Surely," he said, "they will not suffer us to be thus undisguisedly betrayed but will give us many means of salvation." He therefore begged him to implore the general to think of the gods and of Fortune and to spare the town, and he might be quite sure that if they could not obtain this request they would all rather be slaughtered than give up the town. After conversing more or less in this sense they separated, agreeing to meet again in three days. 8. When Golosses communicated the conversation to Scipio the latter laughed and said, "I suppose you were about to make this request, when you treated our prisoners in such an inhuman manner, and now you expect help from the gods after violating even the laws of men." And when the king wished to submit some further reflections to Scipio and chiefly that he ought to bring matters to a conclusion; for, apart from

ἀδήλων καὶ τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν ὑπάτων ἤδη
συνεγγίζειν, ἧς δεῖν ἔφη στοχάζεσθαι, μὴ
τοῦ χειμῶνος προκαταλαβόντος ἐπελθὼν ἕτερος
ἀκονιτὶ λάβῃ τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῶν ἐκείνου πό-
4 νων· καὶ δὴ τούτων λεγομένων ἐπιστήσας ὁ
στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευσεν ἀναγγέλλειν διότι δίδωσι
τὴν ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῷ καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοις καὶ
δέκα τῶν συγγενῶν <καὶ> φίλων οἰκίαις, σὺν
δὲ τούτοις δέκα τάλαντα λαβεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
ὑπαρχόντων καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐξαγαγεῖν ἑκατὸν
5 οὓς ἂν αἱρῆται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ Γολόσσης
ἔχων τὰ φιλάνθρωπα συνῄει πρὸς τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν
6 τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν· ὁ δὲ πάλιν ἐξεπορεύετο
μετὰ μεγάλης ἀξίας ἐν τῇ πορφυρίδι καὶ τῇ παν-
οπλίᾳ βάδην, ὥστε τοὺς ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις τυ-
7 ραννους πολύ τι προσοφείλειν. ἦν μὲν οὖν καὶ
φύσει σάρκινος, τότε δὲ καὶ κοιλίαν εἰλήφει καὶ
τῷ χρώματι παρὰ φύσιν ἐπικεκαυμένος ἦν, ὥστε
δοκεῖν ἐν πανηγύρει που διαιτᾶσθαι παραπλησίως
τοῖς σιτευτοῖς βουσίν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τηλικούτων καὶ
τοιούτων κακῶν προστατεῖν, ὧν οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἐφίκοιτο
8 τῷ λόγῳ διεξιὼν οὐδείς. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ
συνῆλθε τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ διήκουσε τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ
στρατηγοῦ προτεινομένων, πολλάκις τὸν μηρὸν
πατάξας, τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὴν τύχην ἐπικαλεσάμενος,
οὐδέποτε ταύτην ἔσεσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν ἔφασκεν
ἐν ᾗ συμβήσεται τὸν ἥλιον Ἀσδρούβαν βλέπειν
9 ἅμα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα πυρπολουμένην· καλὸν γὰρ
ἐντάφιον εἶναι τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ
10 τὸ ταύτης πῦρ. ὥσθ᾽ ὅτε μὲν εἰς τὰς ἀπο-
φάσεις αὐτοῦ τις βλέψειε, θαυμάζειν τὸν ἄνδρα
καὶ τὸ μεγαλόψυχον τῶν λόγων, ὅτε δ᾽ εἰς τὸν

the uncertainty of things, the appointment of the new consuls was close at hand and he should take this into consideration, lest when he was overtaken by winter another commander should succeed him and without any trouble credit himself with the result of all his pains, the general paid careful attention to what he said, and told him to inform Hasdrubal that he answered for the safety of himself, his wife and children, and the families of ten of his friends, and that, in addition to this, he might keep ten talents out of his own fortune and carry off with him any slaves he chose to the number of a hundred. Golosses conveying this kind offer met Hasdrubal again two days afterwards. The Carthaginian again advanced slowly to meet him in great state, wearing his full armour and purple robe, leaving the tyrants of tragedy much to seek. He was by nature corpulent, and he had now become pot-bellied and was unnaturally red in the face, so that it looked as if he were living like a fatted ox in the plenty of a festival, instead of being at the head of a people suffering from such extreme misery that it would be difficult to set it down in words. However, when he met the king and listened to Scipio's offer, slapping his thigh often and calling upon the gods and Fortune, he said that the day would never come on which Hasdrubal would look at the same time on the sun and on his city being consumed by fire; for the most noble funeral for right-minded men was to perish in their native city and amid her flames. So that when we look at his utterances we admire the man and his high-souled words, but when we turn

χειρισμὸν τῶν πραγμάτων, τὴν ἀγεννίαν κατα-
11 πλήττεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀνανδρίαν· ὃς πρῶτον μέν,
τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν διαφθειρομένων ὁλοσχερῶς
ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, πότους αὐτὸς συνῆγε καὶ δευτέρας
τραπέζας παρετίθετο πολυτελεῖς καὶ διὰ τῆς
ἰδίας εὐεξίας παρεδειγμάτιζε τὴν ἐκείνων ἀτυχίαν·
12 ἄπιστον μὲν γὰρ ἦν τὸ τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων πλῆ-
θος, ἄπιστον δὲ τὸ τῶν αὐτομολούντων καθ᾽
13 ἡμέραν διὰ τὸν λιμόν· ἔπειτα τοὺς μὲν διαχλευάζων,
οἷς δ᾽ ἐνυβρίζων καὶ φονεύων κατεπλήττετο τοὺς
πολλοὺς καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ συνεῖχε τὴν ἐξου-
σίαν, ἣ μόλις ἂν χρήσαιτο τύραννος ἐν εὐτυχούσῃ
14 πόλει, καὶ ἐν δεδυστυχηκυίᾳ πατρίδι. διὸ καὶ
λίαν δοκῶ καλῶς ἡμῖν εἰρῆσθαι διότι προστάτας
πραγμάτων ὁμοιοτέρους τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι
τότε καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ὑπαρξάντων
15 οὐκ ἂν εὕροι τις ῥᾳδίως. τοῦτο δ᾽ ἔσται δῆλον,
ὅταν ἐκ παραθέσεως τὸν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ποιησώμεθα
λόγον.

III. Bellum Achaicum

9 (7) Ὅτι παραγενομένων ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τῶν
(1) περὶ τὸν Αὐρήλιον πρεσβευτῶν καὶ διασαφούν-
2 των τὰ συμβεβηκότα περὶ αὐτούς, ὅτι παρ᾽ ὀλίγον
τοῖς ὅλοις ἐκινδύνευσαν, καὶ λεγόντων μετ᾽ αὐξή-
σεως καὶ καινολογίας· οὐ γὰρ ὡς κατὰ περι-
πέτειαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἥκοντος τοῦ δεινοῦ διεσάφουν,
ἀλλ᾽ ὡς κατὰ πρόθεσιν ὡρμηκότων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν
3 ἐπὶ τὸ παραδειγματίζειν αὐτούς· ἡ σύγκλητος
ἠγανάκτησεν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσιν ὡς οὐδέποτε
καὶ παραχρῆμα πρεσβευτὰς κατεστήσατο τοὺς
περὶ τὸν Ἰούλιον, καὶ τούτους ἔπεμπε δοῦσα τοι-

to his actual behaviour we are amazed by his ignobility and cowardice. For, to begin with, when the rest of the citizens were utterly perishing from famine, he gave drinking-parties and offered his guests sumptuous second courses and by his own good cheer exposed the general distress. For the number of deaths was incredibly large and so was the number of daily desertions due to famine. And next by making mock of some and inflicting outrage and death on others he terrorized the populace and maintained his authority in his sorely stricken country by means to which a tyrant in a prosperous city would scarcely resort. Therefore I think I was exceedingly right in saying as I did that it would not be easy to find men more like each other than those who then swayed the destinies of Greece and Carthage. This will become evident when I come to speak of the former and compare them with this man.

III. The Achaean War

9. When Aurelius Orestes and the other legates returned from the Peloponnesus and informed the senate of what had happened to them and how they had been very nearly in danger of their lives, both exaggerating the truth and exercising their invention—for they did not represent the danger to which they had been exposed as a fortuitous one, but pretended that the Achaeans had of set purpose determined to make an example of them—the senate was more indignant at the occurrence than it had ever been before, and at once appointed a commission under Sextus Julius Caesar and dis-

4 αὔτας ἐντολάς, διότι δεῖ μετρίως ἐπιτιμήσαντας
καὶ μεμψαμένους ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι τὸ πλεῖον
παρακαλεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μήτε
τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ χείριστα παρακαλοῦσι προσέχειν
μήτ᾽ αὐτοὺς λαθεῖν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους
5 ἀλλοτριότητα διεμπεσόντας, ἀλλ᾽ ἔτι καὶ νῦν
ποιήσασθαί τινα διόρθωσιν τῶν ἠγνοημένων,
ἀπερεισαμένους τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους
6 τῆς ἁμαρτίας. ἐξ ὧν καὶ λίαν δῆλον ἐγένετο
διότι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Αὐρήλιον ἔδωκε τὰς
ἐντολὰς <οὐ> διασπάσαι βουλομένη τὸ ἔθνος,
ἀλλὰ πτοῆσαι καὶ καταπλήξασθαι [βουλομένη]
τὴν αὐθάδειαν καὶ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν.
7 τινὲς μὲν οὖν ὑπελάμβανον καθ᾽ ὑπόκρισιν τοὺς
Ῥωμαίους . . . διὰ τὸ μένειν ἀτελῆ τὰ κατὰ
8 Καρχηδόνα· τὸ δ᾽ ἀληθὲς οὐχ οὕτως εἶχεν, ἀλλ᾽
ἀποδεδεγμένοι τὸ ἔθνος ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου καὶ
νομίζοντες ἔχειν αὐτὸ πιστὸν μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλη-
νικῶν, ἀνασοβῆσαι μὲν ἔκριναν διὰ τὸ φρονημα-
τίζεσθαι πέρα τοῦ δέοντος, πόλεμον δ᾽ ἀναλαβεῖν
ἢ διαφορὰν ὁλοσχερῆ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς οὐδαμῶς
ἐβούλοντο.

10 (8) Ὅτι οἱ περὶ τὸν Σέξτον προάγοντες ἐκ τῆς
(2) Ῥώμης εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἀπήντησαν τοῖς
2 περὶ τὸν Θεαρίδαν, οἵ<περ> ἦσαν πρεσβευταὶ
πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν παραιτησόμενοι
καὶ διδάξοντες τὴν σύγκλητον ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰς τοὺς
3 περὶ τὸν Αὐρήλιον γενομένων ἀλογημάτων. οἷς
καὶ συμμίξαντες οἱ προειρημένοι παρεκάλεσαν
αὐτοὺς ἀνακάμπτειν εἰς τὴν Ἀχαΐαν, ὅτι περὶ
πάντων τούτων ἔχουσιν ἐντολὰς αὐτοὶ διαλέγεσθαι
4 τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς. παραγενομένων δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸν

patched it with instructions, however, merely to administer a mild censure for what had taken place, and then to beg and instruct the Achaeans not to give heed in future to those who urged them to the worst courses or to incur before they were aware of it the hostility of Rome, but once again to correct their errors and bring the blame home to the real authors of the offence. This made it quite evident that by the instructions they gave to Aurelius they did not wish to dissolve the League, but to alarm the Achaeans and to deter them from acting in a presumptuous and hostile manner. Some, it is true, thought that the Romans were playing false, as the fate of Carthage was still undecided. This, however, was not the fact; but having for so long acknowledged the League and regarding it as the most loyal of the Greek powers, they thought fit to alarm the Achaeans and curb their undue arrogance, but by no means wished to go to war with them or proceed to an absolute rupture.

10. Sextus Julius and his colleagues on their way from Rome to the Peloponnesus met the envoys headed by Thearidas who had been sent by the Achaeans to excuse themselves and to inform the senate of the truth concerning the foolish insults inflicted on Aurelius and his fellow-legates. Sextus and his colleagues upon meeting the Achaean envoys begged them to return to Achaea, as they themselves were charged to discuss the whole matter with the Achaeans. When upon reaching the Pelo-

Σέξτον εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον καὶ διαλεγομένων
τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς ἐν τῇ τῶν Αἰγιέων πόλει καὶ προ-
φερομένων πολλοὺς καὶ φιλανθρώπους λόγους,
5 καὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς πρεσβευτὰς ἔγκλημα παραπεμ-
πόντων καὶ σχεδὸν οὐδὲν προσδεόμενον δικαιο-
λογίας, ἀλλὰ βέλτιον ἐκδεχομένων τὸ γεγονὸς
αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, καθόλου δὲ παρακαλούντων
μὴ πορρωτέρω προβῆναι τῆς ἁμαρτίας μήτε τῆς
εἰς αὐτοὺς μήτε τῆς εἰς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους,
6 τὸ μὲν σωφρονοῦν μέρος ἀσμένως ἀπεδέχετο τὰ
λεγόμενα καὶ λίαν ἐνετρέπετο, συνειδὸς αὑτῷ τὰ
πεπραγμένα καὶ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν λαμβάνον τὰ
συμβαίνοντα τοῖς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ἀντιταττομένοις,
7 τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀντιλέγειν μὲν οὐδὲν
εἶχε τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σέξτον λεγομένοις
δικαίοις, ἀλλ᾽ ἦγε τὴν ἡσυχίαν, ἔμενε δὲ νοσοῦν
8 καὶ διεφθαρμένον. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Δίαιον καὶ
Κριτόλαον <καὶ> πάντες οἱ μετέχοντες αὐτοῖς τῆς
αὐτῆς γνώμης· οὗτοι δ᾽ ἦσαν ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες
ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως κατ᾽ ἐκλογὴν οἱ χείριστοι
καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐχθροὶ καὶ λυμαινόμενοι τὸ ἔθνος·
9 καθάπερ ἡ παροιμία φησίν, οὐ μόνον τὰ διδόμενα
τῇ δεξιᾷ παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐδέχοντο τῇ λαιᾷ χειρί,
καθόλου δὲ καὶ συλλήβδην παρέπαιον τοῖς λογι-
10 σμοῖς. ὑπέλαβον γὰρ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους διά τε τὰς
ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πράξεις
δεδιότας τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν πόλεμον πᾶν
11 ὑπομένειν καὶ πᾶσαν προΐεσθαι φωνήν. διὸ νο-
μίσαντες ἴδιον τὸ παρὸν ἀπεκρίθησαν φιλανθρώπως
τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὸν Θεαρίδαν
ὅμως ἀποστέλλειν εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον, αὐτοὶ δὲ
παρακολουθήσαντες εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν καὶ κοινο-

ponnesus they conversed with the Achaeans in Aegium their language was most courteous; they scarcely alluded to the charge of ill-treating the legates or demanded any justification of the conduct of the Achaeans, but taking a more favourable view of what had occurred than the Achaeans themselves, begged them not to give any further offence either to the Romans or to the Lacedaemonians. Upon this all the wiser people gladly accepted the advice, conscious as they were of their error and having before their eyes the fate that awaited those who opposed Rome; but the majority, while having nothing to say against the just strictness of Sextus and being obliged to keep silence, yet remained ill-conditioned and demoralized. And Diaeus and Critolaus and all who shared their views—and these were, so to speak, a deliberate selection from each city of the worst men, the most god-forsaken and the greatest corrupters of the nation—not only as the proverb has it, took with the left hand what the Romans gave with the right, but were under an entire and absolute misconception. For they imagined that the Romans, owing to their campaigns in Africa and in Spain, were afraid of a war with the Achaeans, and consequently tolerated everything and were ready to say anything. Consequently, thinking that they were masters of the situation, they answered the legates in courteous terms, insisting, however, upon sending Thearidas and his colleagues to the senate: they themselves would accompany the legates as far as Tegea, where they

λογηθέντες τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις . . ., ἵνα γένηταί
12 τις ὡμολογημένη λύσις περὶ τοῦ πολέμου. ταῦτα
δ' ἀποκριθέντες ἐν τοῖς ἑξῆς ἦγον ἐπὶ τὴν πάλαι
προκειμένην αὐτοῖς ἄγνοιαν τὸ ταλαίπωρον ἔθνος.
13 καὶ τοῦτ' εἰκότως συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι δι' ἀπειρίαν
καὶ κακίαν τῶν κρατούντων.

11 (9) Τὸ δὲ τέλος τῆς ἀπωλείας ἠνύσθη τοιῷδέ τινι
(3) 2 τρόπῳ. παραγενομένων γὰρ εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν
τῶν περὶ τὸν Σέξτον καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους
ἐπισπασαμένων χάριν τοῦ σύμφωνον αὐτοῖς γενέ-
σθαι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς τήν τε περὶ τῶν προ-
γεγονότων ἐγκλημάτων δικαιοδοσίαν <καὶ> τὴν κατὰ
τὸν πόλεμον ἐποχήν, ἕως ἂν πέμψωσι Ῥωμαῖοι
3 τοὺς περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἐπισκεψομένους, συνεδρεύ-
σαντες οἱ περὶ τὸν Κριτόλαον ἔκριναν τοὺς μὲν
ἄλλους διακλῖναι τὴν ἀπάντησιν, τὸν δὲ Κριτό-
4 λαον προάγειν εἰς τὴν Τεγέαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν προ-
ειρημένος ἤδη σχεδὸν ἀπηλπικότων τῶν περὶ τὸν
5 Σέξτον ἦλθε, γενομένης δὲ συγκαταστάσεως πρὸς
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰς οὐδὲν συγκατέβαινεν,
φήσας οὐκ ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν οὐδὲν οἰκονομεῖν ἄνευ τῆς
τῶν πολλῶν γνώμης· ἐπανοίσειν δὲ τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς
εἰς τὴν ἑξῆς ἔφη σύνοδον, <ἣν ἔδει> γενέσθαι μετὰ
6 μῆνας ἕξ. διὸ σαφῶς ἐπιγνόντες οἱ περὶ τὸν
Σέξτον ἐθελοκακοῦντα τὸν Κριτόλαον καὶ δυσ-
χεραίνοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπαντωμένοις τοὺς μὲν Λα-
κεδαιμονίους ἀπέλυσαν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν, αὐτοὶ δ'
ἐπανῆγον εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, κατεγνωκότες ἄγνοιαν
7 καὶ μανίαν τοῦ Κριτολάου. ὁ δὲ Κριτόλαος
χωρισθέντων τούτων ἐπιπορευόμενος κατὰ τὸν
χειμῶνα τὰς πόλεις ἐκκλησίας συνῆγε, προφάσει

would discuss matters with the Lacedaemonians and try to find a means of coming to an agreement with them which would put an end to the war. After giving this answer, they by their future conduct, led on the unhappy nation to adopt the mistaken policy they had set their hearts on. What else could be expected when those in power were so ignorant and ill-disposed?

11. The end of the catastrophe was brought about in the following way. When Sextus and the other legates reached Tegea they invited the Lacedaemonians to attend there so that they might act in unison towards the Achaeans, both as regards exacting justice for their offences in the past and as regards the suspension of hostilities, until the Romans should send commissioners to deal with the whole situation. Critolaus and his party now held a meeting at which it was decided that the others should decline to meet the Romans, but that Critolaus alone should proceed to Tegea. Critolaus arrived at Tegea when Sextus and his colleagues had almost given up all hope of his coming, and when they called in the Lacedaemonians to negotiate he refused to make any concessions, saying that he was not empowered to arrange anything without taking the opinion of the people, but that he would refer the matter to the next Assembly which was to meet in six months. So that Sextus and his colleagues, now recognizing that Critolaus was guilty of wilful obstruction, and indignant at his answer, allowed the Lacedaemonians to return home and themselves left for Italy, pronouncing Critolaus to have acted in a wrong-headed way and like a madman. After their departure Critolaus visited the different cities during the winter and called meetings,

μὲν χρώμενος ὅτι βούλεται τὰ ῥηθέντα πρὸς
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Τεγέᾳ
8 διασαφεῖν αὐτοῖς, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ κατηγορίαν
ποιούμενος Ῥωμαίων καὶ πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπ'
9 ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ἐκδεχόμενος, ἐξ ὧν δυσ-
10 μένειαν καὶ μῖσος ἐνειργάζετο τοῖς ὄχλοις. ἅμα
δὲ τούτοις παρήγγειλε τοῖς ἄρχουσι μὴ πράττειν
τοὺς ὀφειλέτας μηδὲ παραδέχεσθαι τοὺς ἀπαγομέ-
νους εἰς φυλακὴν πρὸς τὰ χρέα, τοὺς <δ'> ἐράνους
ἐπιμόνους ποιεῖν, ἕως ἂν λάβῃ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου
11 κρίσιν. λοιπὸν ἐκ τῆς τοιαύτης δημαγωγίας
πᾶν τὸ λεγόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πιστὸν ἐγίνετο,
καὶ πρὸς πᾶν τὸ παραγγελλόμενον ἕτοιμον ἦν τὸ
πλῆθος, περὶ μὲν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀδυνατοῦν προ-
νοεῖσθαι, τῇ δὲ παρ' αὐτὰ χάριτι καὶ ῥᾳστώνῃ
δελεαζόμενον.

12 (10) Ὁ δὲ Κόιντος ὁ Καικίλιος ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ
(4) τάδε πυνθανόμενος <καὶ> τὴν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ
γενομένην ἀκρισίαν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐξέπεμψε πρε-
σβευτὰς Γνάιον Παπείριον καὶ τὸν νεώτερον
Ποπίλιον Λαινᾶτον, σὺν δὲ τούτοις Αὖλον Γα-
2 βίνιον καὶ Γάιον Φάννιον· οἳ καὶ συνηγμένων
τῶν Ἀχαιῶν εἰς Κόρινθον, κατὰ τύχην ἐλθόντες
εἰς τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ παραχθέντες εἰς τὰ
πλήθη διετίθεντο πολλοὺς οὗτοι καὶ φιλανθρώπους
λόγους παραπλησίους τοῖς περὶ τὸν Σέξτον,
3 πᾶσαν ἐνδεικνύμενοι φιλοτιμίαν χάριν τοῦ μὴ
προβῆναι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς εἰς ὁλοσχερεστέραν ἀπ-
έχθειαν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους μήτ' ἐ<κ> τῆς πρὸς Λα-
κεδαιμονίους προφάσεως μήτε διὰ τῆς πρὸς
4 αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἀλλοτριότητος. ὧν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ
διακούοντες οὐδαμῶς ἀνείχοντο, χλευάζοντες δὲ

on the pretext that he wished to inform the people of the language he had used to the Lacedaemonians and the Roman legates at Tegea, but in reality for the purpose of accusing the Romans and giving the worst sense to all that they had said, by which means he inspired the populace with hostility and hatred. At the same time he advised the magistrates not to exact payment from debtors or to admit into the prisons those arrested for debt, and also to make the enforced contributions permanent, until the war was decided. As a result of such appeals to the rabble everything he said was accepted as true, and the people were ready to do anything he ordered, incapable as they were of taking thought for the future, and enticed by the bait of present favour and ease.

12. When Quintus Caecilius in Macedonia heard of all this, and of the foolish excitement and commotion in the Peloponnesus, he dispatched there as legates Gnaeus Papirius, the younger Popilius Laenas, Aulus Gabinius, and Gaius Fannius. They happened to arrive when the General Assembly of the Achaeans was being held at Corinth, and when brought before the people addressed them at length in the same conciliatory terms as Sextus and his colleagues had done, employing every effort to prevent the Achaeans from proceeding to acts of declared hostility towards Rome, either on account of their difference with Sparta or owing to their dislike of the Romans themselves. The people, on listening to them, showed no disposition to comply, but jeered at the legates, hooted and

τοὺς πρέσβεις μετὰ θορύβου καὶ κραυγῆς ἐξέβαλον·
5 καὶ γὰρ συνηθροίσθη πλῆθος ἐργαστηριακῶν καὶ
βαναύσων ἀνθρώπων ὅσον οὐδέποτε· πᾶσαι μὲν
γὰρ ἐκορύζων αἱ πόλεις, πανδημεὶ δὲ καὶ μάλιστά
6 πως ἡ τῶν Κορινθίων. ὀλίγοις δέ τισι καὶ λίαν
7 ἤρεσκε τὰ λεγόμενα διὰ τῶν πρεσβευτῶν. ὁ δὲ
Κριτόλαος, ὥσπερ κατ' εὐχὴν ὑποθέσεως ἐπ-
ειλημμένος καὶ θεάτρου συνενθουσιῶντος καὶ παρ-
εστηκότος ταῖς διανοίαις, κατανίστατο μὲν τῶν
ἀρχόντων, διέσυρε δὲ τοὺς ἀντιπολιτευομένους,
ἐνεπαρρησιάζετο δὲ τοῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρεσβευ-
8 ταῖς, φάσκων βούλεσθαι μὲν Ῥωμαίων φίλος
ὑπάρχειν, δεσπότας δ' οὐκ ἂν εὐδοκῆσαι κτησά-
9 μενος. καθόλου δὲ παρῄνει, λέγων ὡς, ἐὰν μὲν
ἄνδρες ὦσιν, οὐκ ἀπορήσουσι συμμάχων, ἐὰν <δ'>
10 ἀνδρόγυνοι, κυρίων. καὶ πολλὰ δή τινα πρὸς
ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐμπορεύων καὶ μεθοδευό-
11 μενος ἐκίνει καὶ παρώξυνε τοὺς ὄχλους. ἐποίει
δ' ἐμφάσεις καὶ περὶ τοῦ μὴ τυχόντως χρῆσθαι
ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τινὰς
καὶ τῶν πολιτευμάτων ἔνια κοινωνεῖν αὐτῷ τῆς
13 (11) προθέσεως. τῶν δὲ τῆς γερουσίας βουλομένων
(5) ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ κωλύειν αὐτὸν τῶν τοιούτων
λόγων, περισπασάμενος τοὺς στρατιώτας καταν-
ίστατο, κελεύων προσελθεῖν, ἐγγίσαι, τολμῆσαί
2 τινα μόνον ἅψασθαι τῆς χλαμύδος. καθόλου δ'
ἔφη πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον παρακατεσχηκὼς αὑτὸν
οὐκέτι δύνασθαι καρτερεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐρεῖν τὸ φαινόμε-
3 νον. δεῖν γὰρ οὐ Λακεδαιμονίους οὐδὲ Ῥωμαίους
ἀγωνιᾶν οὕτως <ὡς> τοὺς ἐξ αὑτῶν συνεργοῦντας
τοῖς ἐχθροῖς· εἶναι γάρ τινας τοὺς πλεῖον Ῥωμαίοις

hustled them out of the meeting. For never had there been collected such a pack of artizans and common men. All the towns, indeed, were in a drivelling state, but the malady was universal and most fierce at Corinth. There were a few, however, who were exceedingly gratified by the language of the legates. But Critolaus, thinking he had got hold of the very handle he had been praying for and of an audience ready to share his fervour and run mad, attacked the authorities and inveighed against his political opponents, and used the utmost freedom of language regarding the Roman legates, saying that he wished to be friends with Rome, but he was not at all minded to make himself subject to despots. The general tenour of his advice was that if they behaved like men they would be in no want of allies, but if they behaved no better than women they would have plenty of lords and masters. By dealing freely and systematically in such phrases he continued to excite and irritate the mob. He much insisted that his policy was by no means a haphazard one, but that some of the kings and states shared his design. 13. When the assembly of elders wished to check him and keep him from using such language, he defied them, soliciting the aid of the soldiery and calling on anyone who chose to come on, to approach him, or to dare even to lay hands on his cloak. He said in fine that he had long held his hand, but could put up with this sort of thing no longer, but would say what he felt. "For," he said, "we should not so much fear the Lacedaemonians or the Romans, as those among ourselves who are co-operating with the enemy. Yes, there are some who favour

εὐνοοῦντας καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις ἢ τοῖς σφετέροις
4 πράγμασιν. καὶ τούτων πίστιν ἔφερεν· ἔφη γὰρ
Εὐαγόραν τὸν Αἰγιέα καὶ τὸν Τριταιέα Στρα-
τίον πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα δι᾿ ἀπορρήτων ἐν ταῖς
5 συναρχίαις διασαφεῖν τοῖς περὶ τον Γνάιον. τοῦ
δὲ Στρατίου συμμεμιχέναι μὲν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
ὁμολογοῦντος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συμμίξειν φάσκοντος
φίλοις οὖσι καὶ συμμάχοις, ἀνηγγελκέναι δ᾿
ὁρκιζομένον μηδὲν τῶν ἐν ταῖς συναρχίαις εἰρημέ-
νων, ὀλίγοι μέν τινες ἐπίστευον, οἱ δὲ πλείους προσ-
6 εδέχοντο τὰς διαβολάς. ὁ δὲ Κριτόλαος παρ-
οξύνας τοὺς ὄχλους διὰ τῆς τούτων κατηγορίας
ἔπεισε τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς πάλιν ψηφίσασθαι λόγῳ
μὲν τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πόλεμον, ἔργῳ δὲ
7 τὸν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους· καὶ προσεπεμέτρησεν ἕτερον
ψήφισμα παράνομον, ὥστε κυρίους εἶναι τοὺς
ἀνθρώπους οὓς [ἂν] ἐπὶ στρατηγίαν αἱρήσονται·
δι᾿ οὗ τρόπου τινὰ μοναρχικὴν ἀνέλαβεν ἐξουσίαν.
8 Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ταῦτα διοικησάμενος ἐγίνετο
περὶ τὸ πραγματοκοπεῖν καὶ Ῥωμαίοις ἐπιβάλλειν
τὰς χεῖρας, οὐδενὶ λόγῳ τοῦτο πράττων, ἀλλὰ
πάντων ἀσεβεστάτοις καὶ παρανομωτάτοις ἐπι-
9 βαλλόμενος· τῶν δὲ πρέσβεων ὁ μὲν Γνάιος εἰς
Ἀθήνας ἀπῆρεν κἀκεῖθεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα προσ-
εδρεύσων τοῖς καιροῖς, ὁ δ᾿ Αὖλος εἰς Ναύπακτον,
οἱ δὲ δύο μέχρι τῆς τοῦ Καικιλίου παρουσίας
ἔμειναν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν
Πελοπόννησον ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

14 Ὅτι Πυθέας ἦν μὲν ἀδελφὸς Ἀκαστίδου τοῦ
(xxxix. 7) σταδιέως, υἱὸς δὲ Κλεομνάστου, κακῶς δὲ βε-
(xl. 1) βιωκὼς καὶ δοκῶν ἑαυτῷ παρακεχρῆσθαι τὴν
2 πρώτην ἡλικίαν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν

the Romans and Lacedaemonians more than our own interests." He even produced proofs of this, saying Euagoras of Aegium and Stratius of Tritaea communicated all the secret decisions of the magistrates to Gnaeus. And when Stratius confessed he had associated with the legates and said he would continue to do so, as they were friends and allies, but swore that he had never reported to them anything that had been said at the meetings of magistrates, a few people believed him, but most gave ear to the accusation. Critolaus having excited the mob by the charges he brought against these men, persuaded the Achaeans again to vote for war, nominally against Sparta, but really against Rome. He added another unconstitutional decree, enacting that the men they chose as strategi should have absolute power, by which means he acquired a kind of despotic authority.

Critolaus then, having carried through these measures, set himself to intrigue against and attack the Romans, not listening to reason, but forming projects which outraged the laws of god and man. As for the legates, Gnaeus proceeded to Athens and thence to Sparta to await the progress of events, while Aulus went to Naupactus and the other two remained in Athens until the arrival of Caecilius. Such was the state of affairs in the Peloponnesus.

14. Pytheas was the brother of Acastides the stadium-runner and the son of Cleomnastus. He had led an evil life and was thought to have been debauched in his early years. He was also reckless

θρασὺς καὶ πλεονέκτης καὶ δι' Εὐμένους καὶ Φιλεταίρου σεσωματοποιημένος <διὰ> τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας.

3 Polybius Achivus quamvis tunc in Africa cum Scipione fuerit, tamen quia domesticam cladem ignorare non potuit, semel in Achaia pugnatum Critolao duce asserit. Diaeum vero adducentem ex Arcadia militem ab eodem Metello praetore oppressum cum exercitu docet.

15 Ὅτι τοῦ Κριτολάου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν
(xxxix. 8) Ἀχαιῶν μετηλλαχότος, καὶ τοῦ νόμου κελεύον-
(xl. 2) τος, ἐπὰν συμβῇ τι περὶ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα στρατηγόν, τὸν
2 προγεγονότα διαδέχεσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, ἕως ἂν <ἡ>
καθήκουσα σύνοδος γένηται τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἐπέβαλε
3 τῷ Διαίῳ χειρίζειν καὶ προεστάναι τῶν κοινῶν
πραγμάτων. διόπερ ἐκπέμψας εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα
καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἄργος ἔγραψε ταῖς πόλεσι
πάσαις τῶν οἰκογενῶν καὶ παρατρόφων τοὺς
ἀκμάζοντας ταῖς ἡλικίαις εἰς μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους
4 ἐλευθεροῦν καὶ καθοπλίσαντας πέμπειν εἰς τὴν
Κόρινθον. ἐμέρισε δὲ ταῖς πόλεσι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν
5 τῶν σωμάτων εἰκῇ καὶ ἀνίσως, καθάπερ καὶ
περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔπραττεν. οἷς δ' ἂν ἐλλείπῃ τὸ
τῶν παρατρόφων πλῆθος, ἀναπληροῦν ἔδει τὴν
ἑκάστοις καθήκουσαν μοῖραν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων οἰκετῶν.
6 θεωρῶν δὲ τὴν ἀπορίαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς ἰσχυρὰν
οὖσαν διὰ τὸν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους γεγονότα
πόλεμον, ἐπαγγελίας ποιεῖσθαι συνηνάγκαζε καὶ
κατ' ἰδίαν εἰσφέρειν τοὺς εὐπόρους, οὐ μόνον
7 τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. ἅμα δὲ

and grasping in public life, and for the reasons I have stated above had been indebted for his advancement to Eumenes and Philetaerus.

(From Orosius v. 3.)

Polybius the Achaean, though he was then with Scipio in Africa, nevertheless, as he could not remain in ignorance of the disaster of his own country, tells us there was only one battle in Achaea, Critolaus being in command. But he adds that Diaeus, who was bringing up reinforcements from Arcadia, was defeated by the same praetor Metellus.

15. Upon the death of Critolaus, the strategus of the Achaeans, since the law enjoined that if anything happened to the actual strategus he should be succeeded by his predecessor until the regular Assembly of the Achaeans met, the management and direction devolved on Diaeus. Consequently, sending a message to Megara and proceeding himself to Argos, he wrote to all the cities to set free twelve thousand of such of their home-born and home-bred slaves as were in the prime of life, and after arming them, to send them to Corinth. But he apportioned the number of slaves ordered to be sent by each city as he chose and unfairly, as he always did about other matters. If they had not enough home-bred slaves, they had to supply the deficiency from their other slaves. As he saw that their public exchequers were very badly off in consequence of the war with Sparta, he compelled them to make also special calls and to exact contributions from the wealthier inhabitants, not only from men but from women also. At the same time he

τούτοις παρήγγειλεν πανδημεὶ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις
ἀθροίζεσθαι μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον.
8 ἐξ ὧν συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τὰς πόλεις πλήρεις ἀκρι-
9 σίας, ταραχῆς, δυσθυμίας. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀπ-
ολωλότας ἐπῄνουν, τοὺς δ' ἐκπορευομένους ἠλέουν,
καὶ προσκατεκλαίοντο πάντες ὡσανεὶ προορώμενοι
10 τὸ μέλλον· τὴν δὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀνάτασιν καὶ τὸν
ἐπισυρμὸν βαρέως ἔφερον, ὡς ἂν τῶν μὲν ἠλευ-
θερωμένων ἄρτι, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα
11 ταύτην μεμετεωρισμένων. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις οἱ
μὲν ἄνδρες εἰσφέρειν ἠναγκάζοντο παρὰ τὴν αὑτῶν
προαίρεσιν ὅ τι τις ἔχειν δόξειεν, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες
ἀφαιρούμεναι σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἰδίων τέκνων
τὸν κόσμον ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν ὄλεθρον
16 εἰσέφερον. ἁπάντων <δὲ> τούτων ἐν ἑνὶ καιρῷ
(xxxix. 9) συμβαινόντων, ἡ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἀεὶ προσ-
(xl. 3) πιπτόντων κατάπληξις ἀφῃρεῖτο τῶν ἀνθρώπων
τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἐπίστασιν καὶ διάληψιν, δι' ἧς
ἔμελλον προνοεῖσθαι <δι>ότι πάντες εἰς πρόδηλον
ὄλεθρον ἄγονται μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν.
2 λοιπόν, οἷον ὑπὸ χειμάρρου τινὸς λάβρου προ-
ωθούμενοι καὶ φερόμενοι μετὰ βίας, ἐπηκολούθουν
τῇ τοῦ προεστῶτος ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ παρακοπῇ. Ἠλεῖοι
3 μὲν γὰρ καὶ Μεσσήνιοι κατὰ χώραν ἔμειναν,
προσδοκῶντες τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόλου κίνδυνον· οὓς
οὐδὲν ἂν τῶν παρόντων ὤνησεν, εἴπερ ἐφάνη
τὸ νέφος ἐκεῖνο κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρόθεσιν.
4 Πατρεῖς δὲ καὶ τὸ μετὰ τούτων συντελικὸν
βραχεῖ χρόνῳ πρότερον ἐπταίκει κατὰ τὴν Φωκίδα,
καὶ τὸ συμβαῖνον ἦν πολλῷ τῶν κατὰ Πελο-
5 πόννησον ἐλεεινότερον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν

ordered all citizens capable of bearing arms to muster at Corinth. In consequence all the cities were full of confusion, disturbance, and despondency. They praised those who had fallen and pitied those who were marching off, and everyone apart from this was perpetually in tears as if they foresaw the future. They suffered much from the insolence and impudence of the slaves, some of whom had been just set free while the rest were excited by the hope of freedom. At the same time the men were forced to contribute willy-nilly whatever they were supposed to possess, and the women, stripping themselves and their children of their jewellery, had to contribute this, almost as of set purpose, to a fund that could only bring destruction on them. 16. As all this was happening at one and the same time, the dismay created by the particular events of every day rendered people incapable of that general and careful reflection, which would have made them foresee that they all with their wives and children were clearly on the road to ruin. So, as if carried away and swept down by the force of a fierce torrent, they resigned themselves to the demented and perverse guidance of their leader. The people of Elis and Messene indeed remained at home in expectation of an attack by the fleet, but they would have profited nothing by the circumstances if that cloud had appeared on their horizon as was originally contemplated. The people of Patrae and those who contributed assistance together with them had a short time previously met with disaster in Phocis, and their case was much more lamentable than that of their allies in the Peloponnese; for some of them in strange desperation had put an

παραλόγως αὑτοὺς ἐξῆγον, οἱ δ' ἔφευγον ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀνοδίαις, πρὸς οὐδὲν ὡρισμένον ποιούμενοι τὴν ἀναχώρησιν διὰ τὴν ἔκπληξιν τῶν γινομένων
6 ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦγον ἐκδώσοντες ἀλλήλους τοῖς πολεμίοις ὡς ἀλλοτρίους γεγονότας Ῥωμαίων, οἱ δ' ἐμήνυον καὶ κατηγόρουν τῶν πέλας, οὐδενὸς ἐπιζητοῦντος κατὰ τὸ παρὸν τὴν τοιαύτην χρείαν· οἱ δὲ μεθ' ἱκετηρίας ἀπήντων, ὁμολογοῦντες παρεσπονδηκέναι καὶ πυνθανόμενοι τί δεῖ πάσχειν, μηδέπω μηδενὸς ἐπιζητοῦντος
7 λόγον ὑπὲρ τούτων. πάντα δ' ἦν πλήρη παρηλλαγμένης φαρμακείας τῶν ῥιπτούντων ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὰ φρέατα καὶ κατὰ κρημνῶν, ὥστε κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν κἂν ἐχθρὸν ἐλεῆσαι θεασάμενον τὴν
8 τότε περιπέτειαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος. τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνον ἐσφάλλοντο καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις ἔπταιον ἐνίοτε, ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὲρ πραγμάτων διαφερόμενοι, ποτὲ δὲ παρασπονδούμενοι διὰ τῶν μονάρχων·
9 κατὰ δὲ τοὺς νῦν λεγομένους καιροὺς ἠτύχησαν ἀτυχίαν ὁμολογουμένην διὰ τὴν τῶν προεστώτων ἀβουλίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἄγνοιαν. οἱ δὲ
10 Θηβαῖοι ἐκλιπόντες πανδημεὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔρημον τελέως κατέλειπον· ἐν οἷς καὶ Πυθέας εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀποχωρήσας μετὰ γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἠλᾶτο κατὰ τῆς χώρας.

11 Παράδοξος αὐτῷ ἐφάνη ἡ ἀπάντησις τῶν πολεμίων. ἀλλά μοι δοκεῖ κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν κενὰ κενοὶ λογίζονται. λοιπὸν εἰκότως τοῖς τοιούτοις τὰ πρόδηλα παράδοξα φαίνεται.

end to their lives, and others were flying from the cities across country, directing their flight to no particular place, but terror-stricken by what was taking place in the towns. Some arrested others to surrender them to the enemy as having been guilty of opposition to Rome, and others informed against their friends and accused them, although no such service was demanded of them at present. Others again presented themselves as suppliants, confessing their treachery and asking what their punishment should be, in spite of the fact that no one as yet demanded any explanation of their conduct in this respect. The whole country in fact was visited by an unparalleled attack of mental disturbance, people throwing themselves into wells and down precipices, so that, as the proverb says, the calamity of Greece would even arouse the pity of an enemy, had he witnessed it. In former times indeed they had erred gravely and sometimes entirely come to grief, quarrelling now about questions of state and now betrayed by despots, but at the time I speak of they met with what all acknowledge to be a real calamity owing to the folly of their leaders and their own errors. The Thebans even abandoned their city in a body and left it entirely desert: among them was Pytheas, who fled to the Peloponnese with his wife and children and was wandering about the country.

The enemies' answer seemed surprising to Diaeus; but I think that as the proverb says, "Empty heads have empty notions." So that naturally such people think that what is obvious is surprising.

12 Καὶ ἐβουλεύετο περὶ τῆς εἰς οἶκον ἀνακομιδῆς,
ὅμοιον ποιῶν ὡς εἴ τις ἄπειρος ὑπάρχων τοῦ νεῖν
καὶ μέλλων αὑτὸν ῥίπτειν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος περὶ μὲν
τοῦ ῥῖψαι μὴ βουλεύοιτο, ῥίψας δὲ διανοοῖτο περὶ
τοῦ πῶς ἂν ἐκνήξαιτο πρὸς τὴν γῆν.

17 Ὅτι ἄρτι τοῦ Διαίου παρόντος εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον,
(xxxix. 1) καθεσταμένου στρατηγοῦ διὰ τῶν πολλῶν, ἧκον
(xl. 4) 2 οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀνδρωνίδαν παρὰ τοῦ Καικιλίου· καθ'
ὧν προδιαδοὺς φήμην ὡς συμφρονούντων τοῖς
ἐχθροῖς, παρέβαλε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς ὄχλοις,
ὥστε μετὰ πάσης ὕβρεως συλληφθέντας ἀπαχθῆναι
3 δεδεμένους. ἧκε δὲ καὶ Φίλων ὁ Θετταλὸς
πολλὰ φιλάνθρωπα τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς προτείνων·
4 ὧν ἀκούοντες συνέπραξάν τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας,
ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Στρατίος ἤδη γηραιὸς ὤν, ὃς ἐμ-
πλεκόμενος καὶ λιπαρῶν ἐδεῖτο τοῦ Διαίου πει-
5 σθῆναι τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καικιλίου προτεινομένοις. οἱ
δὲ συνεδρεύσαντες τοῖς μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Φίλωνος λε-
6 γομένοις οὐ προσεῖχον· οὐκ ἐνόμισαν γὰρ κοινὴν
εἶναι τὴν σωτηρίαν, ἀλλ' τὸ σφέτερον συμφέρον
καὶ τὴν αὑτῶν ἀσφάλειαν ἐν πλείστῳ τιθέμενον
ταῦτα λέγειν. πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν τὸν σκοπὸν
ἐβουλεύσαντο περὶ τῶν ἐνεστώτων, εἰ καὶ πάντων
7 ἅμα διήμαρτον. σαφῶς γὰρ σφίσι τὰ πεπραγμένα
συνειδότες οὐδαμῶς ἐδύναντο πιστεῦσαι διότι
8 τύχοιεν ἄν τινος ἐλέου παρὰ Ῥωμαίων. τὸ δ'
ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν σωτη-
ρίας παθεῖν ὅ τι δέοι γενναίως οὐδ' ἐν νῷ καθ-

And he (Diaeus) began to think about the best way of getting home, acting just like a man who cannot swim but is about to throw himself into the sea, and never hesitates in making the plunge, but having made it begins to think how he can swim to shore.

17. A short time after the arrival of Diaeus at Corinth, on his having been appointed strategus by the people, Andronidas and his colleagues returned from their embassy to Caecilius. He had previously circulated a report that they were in league with the enemy and he now gave them up to the mob, so that they were arrested with every circumstance of ignominy and led off to prison in chains. Philo of Thessaly also came the bearer of many kind offers to the Achaeans, and certain Achaeans, on learning of this, gave him their support, among others Stratius, who was now advanced in years, and embracing and imploring Diaeus, begged him to accept the proposals of Caecilius. But the members of the assembly paid no attention to what Philo said, for they did not think that the whole nation would be spared, but that Philo spoke so in his own interest and concerned chiefly for his own safety and that of his friends. They therefore discussed the situation under this impression, although they were entirely wrong in entertaining it. For as they were perfectly conscious of their guilt, they could not conceive that the Romans could possibly have any compassion on them. They did not in the least think of making any brave sacrifice for the sake of the state, and the safety of

ἅπαξ ἐλάμβανον· ὅπερ ἦν ἀνδρῶν φιλοδόξων καὶ
9 προστατεῖν φασκόντων τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ἀλλὰ γὰρ
πῶς ἔμελλε καὶ πόθεν παραστήσεσθαι τοῦτο τὸ
φρόνημα τοῖς προειρημένοις; ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ βου-
λευόμενοι Δίαιος καὶ Δαμόκριτος, ἄρτι τῆς καθ-
όδου τετευχὼς διὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀκρισίαν, σὺν
δὲ τούτοις Ἀλκαμένης, Θεοδέκτης, Ἀρχικράτης.
10 ὑπὲρ ὧν, τίνες ἦσαν καὶ τίνα φύσιν ἕκαστος εἶχε
καὶ τίνα προαίρεσιν καὶ βίον, εἴρηται διὰ πλειόνων.

18 Ὅθεν ἐν τοιούτοις ὄντος τοῦ διαβουλίου καὶ τὸ
(xxxix.11) 2 τέλος ἀκόλουθον ἐξέβη τῶν δοξάντων. παραυτίκα
(xl. 5) μὲν οὖν συνέκλεισαν οὐ μόνον τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀν-
δρωνίδαν καὶ Λάγιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ὑποστράτηγον
Σωσικράτην, ἐπενέγκαντες αἰτίαν ὅτι προστατήσαι
τοῦ διαβουλίου καὶ συναποφήναιτο πέμπειν πρὸς
τὸν Καικίλιον καὶ συλλήβδην πάντων εἴη τῶν
3 κακῶν αἴτιος· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπαύριον καθίσαντες
δικαστὰς τοῦ μὲν Σωσικράτους κατεδίκασαν θάνα-
τον καὶ δήσαντες καὶ στρεβλοῦντες προσεκαρτέρουν,
ἕως διέφθειραν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐδὲν εἰπόντα τῶν
4 ἐκείνοις προσδοκωμένων. τὸν δὲ Λάγιον καὶ
τὸν Ἀνδρωνιδαν καὶ τὸν Ἄρχιππον ἀφῆκαν, ἅμα
μὲν τοῦ πλήθους εἰς ἐπίστασιν παραγενομένου
διὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν Σωσικράτη παρανομίαν, ἅμα δὲ
τοῦ Διαίου λαβόντος παρὰ μὲν Ἀνδρωνίδου
τάλαντον, παρὰ δ᾽ Ἀρχίππου τετταράκοντα μνᾶς.
5 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ σκάμματος ὤν, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον,
ἐδύνατο λῆξαι τῆς περὶ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἀναισχυν-
6 τίας καὶ παρανομίας ὁ προειρημένος. παραπλήσια
δὲ τούτοις ἔπραξε καὶ βραχεῖ χρόνῳ πρότερον
εἰς Φιλῖνον τὸν Κορίνθιον· προθεὶς γὰρ αἰτίαν
ὅτι διαπέμπεται πρὸς Μεναλκίδαν καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων

the people in general, as was their duty if they were men who valued their reputations and pretended to be the leaders of Greece. But how could they possibly show any such spirit, for the members of the Council were Diaeus and Damocritus—who had recently been allowed to return owing to the prevailing unwisdom—and in addition Alcamenes, Theodectes, and Archicrates, all men of whom I have already spoken at length, describing who they were and what were their characters, principles, and lives.

18. Such being the members of the council, the result of their deliberations was in accord with their characters. Not only did they at once imprison Andronidas and Lagius, but the under-strategus Sosicrates as well, alleging that he had presided over the previous council, and had taken part in the decision to send to Caecilius, and was in fact the main cause of all the evil. On the following day they appointed a tribunal and condemned Sosicrates to death, and binding him on the rack continued the torture until he died under it without making any such avowal as they expected. As for Lagius and Andronidas and Archippus, they released them, partly because the attention of the people had been aroused by the flagrant injustice of their treatment of Sosicrates, and partly because Diaeus received a talent from Andronidas and forty minae from Archippus; for Diaeus could not even when he was at bay, as the saying is, abstain from such shameless and illegal exactions. He had a short time previously behaved in a very similar manner to Philinus of Corinth. For accusing him of communicating with Menalcidas and of being a partisan

φρονεῖ, τόν τε Φιλῖνον καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ μαστιγῶν καὶ στρεβλῶν ἐν συνόψει πάντας ἀλλήλων οὐ πρότερον ἔληξε πρὶν ἢ διέφθειρε τὰ μειράκια
7 καὶ τὸν Φιλῖνον. τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς ἀνοίας καὶ τῆς ἀκρισίας συμβαινούσης περὶ πάντας οἵαν οὐδ' ἂν ἐν βαρβάροις εὕροι τις ῥᾳδίως, δῆλον ὡς εἰκότως ἄν τις ἐπιζητήσειε πῶς οὐκ ἄρδην ἀπ-
8 ώλοντο πάντες. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν εἴποιμι διό<τι> δοκεῖ μοι καθαπερανεὶ τύχη τις ἀντερεῖσαι πανοῦργος καὶ τεχνικὴ πρὸς τὴν ἄνοιαν καὶ μανίαν τῶν ἡγουμένων, ἥτις ἐξωθουμένη πάντῃ καὶ πάντως ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας τῶν προεστώτων, βουλομένη δὲ κατὰ πάντα τρόπον σῴζειν τοὺς Ἀχαιούς, ἐπὶ τὸ καταλειπόμενον ἦλθεν ὥσπερ
9 ἀγαθὸς παλαιστής. τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ ταχέως σφῆλαι <καὶ> ῥᾳδίως ἡττῆσαι τοὺς Ἕλληνας·
10 ὅπερ ἐποίησε. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο συνέβη μήτε τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὀργὴν καὶ θυμὸν ἐκκαυθῆναι πορρωτέρω, μηδ' ἐλθεῖν τὰς ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης δυνάμεις, μήτε τοὺς προεστῶτας, ὄντας οἵους εἶπον, ἐπιλαβομένους δὲ προτερήματος, ἀποδείξασθαι τὴν
11 αὑτῶν ἀσέβειαν εἰς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους. τί γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν πρᾶξαι τούτους κατὰ τῶν ἰδίων, ἐπιλαβομένους ἀφορμῆς τινος ἢ προτερήματος, δῆλόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων διὰ τὸ κατὰ λόγον.
12 ἅπαντες δὲ τότε τὴν παροιμίαν ταύτην διὰ στόματος ἔσχον, ὡς "εἰ μὴ ταχέως ἀπωλόμεθα, οὐκ ἂν ἐσώθημεν."

V. Excidium Carthaginis

19 Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ τεῖχος, τῶν Καρχη-
(xxxix. 3) δονίων ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἀμυνομένων, εὗρε τὴν διὰ

of the Romans, he continued to flog and rack Philinus himself and his sons before each others' eyes until both the father and the boys gave up the ghost. One is inclined to ask oneself, in view of the fact that all were guilty of such folly and demoralization as it would not be easy to find among barbarians, how it came to pass that the whole nation was not utterly destroyed. For my part I should say that some sort of resourceful and ingenious fortune counteracted the folly and insanity of the leading statesmen—a power which, though the leaders in their folly took every means and every opportunity to expel her, yet had resolved to leave nothing undone to save Achaea, and like a skilful wrestler adopted the sole device left to her, and that was to bring about the speedy discomfiture and easy defeat of the Greeks, as she in fact did. For owing to this the indignation and wrath of the Romans were not still further aroused, nor did the forces come from Africa, nor were the leading statesmen, whose characters were such as I said and who only wanted a pretext, able to reveal fully their guilty intentions to their countrymen. For it is evident from the analogy of their previous conduct, such as I have described it, how they would probably have acted against their own people if they had had any opportunity or achieved any success. Everybody in fact kept repeating the proverb, "Had we not perished so soon we would never have been saved."

V. The Fall of Carthage

(From Plutarch, *Apophthegmata*, p. 200.)

19. Scipio had reached the wall, the Carthaginians still defending themselves from the citadel, and as

μέσου θάλασσαν οὐ πάνυ βαθεῖαν οὖσαν, τοῦ
Πολυβίου συμβουλεύοντος αὐτῷ κατασπεῖραι τρι-
βόλους σιδηροῦς ἢ σανίδας ἐμβαλεῖν κεντρωτάς,
ὅπως μὴ διαβαίνοντες οἱ πολέμιοι προσμάχωνται
τοῖς χώμασιν, ἔφη γελοῖον εἶναι, κατειληφότας
τὰ τείχη καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐντὸς ὄντας, εἶτα πράττειν
ὅπως οὐ μαχοῦνται τοῖς πολεμίοις.

20 Ὅτι τοῦ Ἀσδρούβου τοῦ τῶν Καρχηδονίων
(xxxix. 4) στρατηγοῦ ἱκέτου παραγενομένου τοῖς τοῦ Σκι-
(xxxix. 3a) πίωνος γόνασιν, ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐμβλέψας εἰς τοὺς
συνόντας "ὁρᾶτ'" ἔφη "τὴν τύχην, ὦ ἄνδρες,
ὡς ἀγαθὴ παραδειγματίζειν ἐστὶ τοὺς ἀλογίστους
2 (3) τῶν ἀνθρώπων. οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀσδρούβας ὁ
νεωστὶ πολλῶν αὐτῷ καὶ φιλανθρώπων προτει-
νομένων ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀπαξιῶν, φάσκων δὲ κάλλιστον
ἐντάφιον εἶναι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὸ ταύτης πῦρ,
νῦν πάρεστι μετὰ στεμμάτων δεόμενος ἡμῶν
τυχεῖν τῆς ζωῆς καὶ πάσας τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχων ἐν
3 (4) ἡμῖν. ἃ τίς οὐκ ἂν ὑπὸ τὴν ὄψιν θεασάμενος ἐν
νῷ λάβοι διότι δεῖ μηδέποτε λέγειν μηδὲ πράττειν
μηδὲν ὑπερήφανον ἄνθρωπον ὄντα;" καὶ προ-
4 (5) ελθόντες τινὲς τῶν αὐτομόλων ἐπὶ τὸ πέρας τοῦ
τέγους παρῃτοῦντο τοὺς προμαχομένους ἀνασχεῖν
5 μικρόν· τοῦ δὲ στρατηγοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπισχεῖν,
ἤρξαντο τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν λοιδορεῖν οἱ μὲν εἰς
ἐπιορκίαν, φάσκοντες αὐτὸν πολλάκις ἐπὶ τῶν
ἱερῶν ὀμωμοχέναι μὴ προλείψειν αὐτούς, οἱ δ'
εἰς ἀνανδρίαν καὶ καθόλου τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγεννίαν·
6 καὶ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν μετὰ χλευασμοῦ καὶ λοιδορίας
ἀσυροῦς καὶ δυσμενικῆς.

7 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἡ γυνὴ θεωροῦσα
τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν προκαθήμενον μετὰ τοῦ στρα-

he found that the depth of the sea between them was not very great, Polybius advised him to set it with iron caltrops or to throw into it planks furnished with spikes to prevent the enemy from crossing and attacking the mole, "But it is absurd," said Scipio, "now we have taken the wall and are inside the town to take steps to prevent our fighting our enemy."

20. When Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian commander, threw himself as a suppliant at Scipio's knees, the general turning to those round him said, "Look, my friends, how well Fortune knows to make an example of inconsiderate men. This is that very Hasdrubal who lately rejected the many kind offers I made him, and said that his native city and her flames were the most splendid obsequies for him; and here he is with suppliant boughs begging for his life from me and reposing all his hopes on me. Who that witnesses this with his eyes can fail to understand that a mere man should never either act or speak presumptuously?" Some of the deserters now came forward to the edge of the roof and begged the front ranks of the assailants to hold back for a moment, and when Scipio gave this order they began to abuse Hasdrubal, some of them for having violated his oath, saying that he had often sworn solemnly that he would not desert them, and others for his cowardice and general baseness of spirit. And this they did with jeers and in the most insulting, coarse, and hostile language.

At this moment his wife, seeing Hasdrubal seated with Scipio in front of the enemy, came out from

τηγοῦ προῆλθεν ἐκ τῶν αὐτομόλων, αὐτὴ μὲν
ἐλευθερίως καὶ σεμνῶς ἠμφιεσμένη, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας
ἐν χιτωνίσκοις ἐξ ἑκατέρου τοῦ μέρους προσειληφυῖα
8 ταῖς χερσὶ μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἐνδυμάτων. καὶ τὸ
μὲν πρῶτον ὀνομαστὶ προσεφώνει τὸν Ἀσδρούβαν,
τοῦ δ' ἀποσιωπῶντος καὶ νεύοντος εἰς τὴν γῆν,
τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπεκαλεῖτο καὶ τῷ
στρατηγῷ μεγάλας ἀπένεμε τὰς χάριτας, διότι
τὸ μὲν ἐκείνου μέρος οὐκ αὐτὴ μόνον, ἀλλὰ
9 καὶ τὰ τέκνα σῴζεται· βραχὺ δ' ἐπισχοῦσα τὸν
Ἀσδρούβαν ἤρετο πῶς αὐτῇ μὲν φάσκων οὐδὲν
κατ' ἰδίαν παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πορίζοιτο τὴν
σωτηρίαν αὐτο<μολήσας, πῶς δ' οὕτως> ἀναι-
σχύντως ἐγκαταλιπὼν τὰ πράγ<ματα καὶ> τοὺς
ἀστοὺς αὐτῷ πιστεύοντας ὑπέλθοι πρὸς τοὺς
10 πολεμίους, πῶς δὲ παρὰ τούτοις τολμᾷ καθῆσθαι
νῦν θαλλοὺς ἔχων πρὸς οὓς . . . . πολλάκις οὐδέ-
ποτε ταύτην ἔσεσθαι τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ᾗ συμβήσεται
τὸν ἥλιον ἅμα καθορᾶν Ἀσδρούβαν <ζῶντα>
21 καὶ τὴν πατρίδα πυρπολουμένην· καὶ ἐπιστρέψας
(xxxix. 5) ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ λαβόμενός μου τῆς δεξιᾶς "ὦ
(xxxix. 3) Πολύβιε," ἔφη "καλὸν μέν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως
ἐγὼ δέδια καὶ προορῶμαι μή ποτέ τις ἄλλος
τοῦτο τὸ παράγγελμα δώσει περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας
πατρίδος·" ταύτης δὲ πραγματικωτέραν καὶ νουνε-
2 χεστέραν οὐ ῥᾴδιον εἰπεῖν· τὸ γὰρ <ἐν> τοῖς
3 μεγίστοις κατορθώμασι καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν
συμφοραῖς ἔννοιαν λαμβάνειν τῶν οἰκείων πραγ-
μάτων καὶ τῆς ἐναντίας περιστάσεως καὶ καθόλου
πρόχειρον ἔχειν ἐν ταῖς ἐπιτυχίαις τὴν τῆς τύχης
ἐπισφάλειαν ἀνδρός ἐστι μεγάλου καὶ τελείου καὶ
συλλήβδην ἀξίου μνήμης.

the crowd of deserters, herself dressed like a great lady, but holding her children, who wore nothing but their smocks, by each hand and wrapping them in her cloak. At first she called on Hasdrubal by his name, but when he maintained silence and bent his eyes to the ground, she began by calling on the gods and expressing her deepest thanks to Scipio for sparing as far as he was concerned not only herself but her children. Then, after a short silence, she asked Hasdrubal how without saying a word to her he had deserted them all and betaken himself to the Roman general to secure his own safety; how he had thus shamelessly abandoned the state and the citizens who trusted in him, and gone over secretly to the enemy; and how he had the face to sit now beside the enemy with suppliant boughs in his hands, that enemy to whom he had often boasted that the day would never dawn on which the sun would look on Hasdrubal alive and his city in flames. . . . 21. Turning round to me at once and grasping my hand Scipio said, "A glorious moment, Polybius; but I have a dread foreboding that some day the same doom will be pronounced upon my own country." It would be difficult to mention an utterance more statesmanlike and more profound. For at the moment of our greatest triumph and of disaster to our enemies to reflect on our own situation and on the possible reversal of circumstances, and generally to bear in mind at the season of success the mutability of Fortune, is like a great and perfect man, a man in short worthy to be remembered.

22 Ὁ δὲ Σκιπίων πόλιν ὁρῶν . . . . τότε ἄρδην
(xxxix. 6) τελευτῶσαν ἐς πανωλεθρίαν ἐσχάτην, λέγεται
(xxxix. 4) μὲν δακρῦσαι καὶ φανερὸς γενέσθαι κλαίων ὑπὲρ
2 πολεμίων· ἐπὶ πολὺ δ' ἔννους ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενός τε καὶ συνιδὼν ὅτι καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη καὶ ἀρχὰς ἁπάσας δεῖ μεταβαλεῖν ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπους δαίμονα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔπαθε μὲν Ἴλιον, εὐτυχής ποτε πόλις, ἔπαθε δὲ ἡ Ἀσσυρίων καὶ Μήδων καὶ Περσῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἀρχὴ μεγίστη γενομένη καὶ ἡ μάλιστα ἔναγχος ἐκλάμψασα ἡ Μακεδόνων, εἴτε ἑκών, εἴτε προφυγόντος αὐτὸν τοῦδε τοῦ ἔπους <εἰπεῖν>,

ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἱρὴ
καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐυμμελίω Πριάμοιο.

3 Πολυβίου δ' αὐτὸν ἐρομένου σὺν παρρησίᾳ· καὶ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῦ καὶ διδάσκαλος· ὅ τι βούλοιτο ὁ λόγος, φασὶν οὐ φυλαξάμενον ὀνομάσαι τὴν πατρίδα σαφῶς, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἄρα ἐς τἀνθρώπεια ἀφορῶν ἐδεδίει. καὶ τάδε μὲν Πολύβιος αὐτὸς ἀκούσας συγγράφει.

(From Appian, *Punica*, 132.)

22. Scipio, when he looked upon the city as it was utterly perishing and in the last throes of its complete destruction, is said to have shed tears and wept openly for his enemies. After being wrapped in thought for long, and realizing that all cities, nations, and authorities must, like men, meet their doom; that this happened to Ilium, once a prosperous city, to the empires of Assyria, Media, and Persia, the greatest of their time, and to Macedonia itself, the brilliance of which was so recent, either deliberately or the verses escaping him, he said:

> A day will come when sacred Troy shall perish,
> And Priam and his people shall be slain.[a]

And when Polybius speaking with freedom to him, for he was his teacher, asked him what he meant by the words, they say that without any attempt at concealment he named his own country, for which he feared when he reflected on the fate of all things human. Polybius actually heard him and recalls it in his history.

[a] *Iliad* vi. 448–9.

FRAGMENTA LIBRI XXXIX

I. Res Graeciae

1 (12) Ὅτι Αὖλος Ποστόμιος ἄξιος γέγονεν ἐπισημασίας
(xl. 6) 2 ἀπεντεῦθεν. οἰκίας μὲν γὰρ ἦν καὶ γένους
πρώτου, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν στωμύλος καὶ
3 λάλος καὶ πέρπερος διαφερόντως. ἐπιθυμήσας
δ' εὐθέως ἐκ παίδων τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς ἀγωγῆς καὶ
διαλέκτου πολὺς μὲν ἦν ἐν τούτοις καὶ κατακορής,
ὥστε δι' ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν
προσκόψαι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς ἀξιο-
4 λογωτάτοις τῶν Ῥωμαίων, τέλος δὲ καὶ ποίημα
γράφειν καὶ πραγματικὴν ἱστορίαν ἐνεχείρησεν,
ἐν ᾗ διὰ τοῦ προοιμίου παρεκάλει τοὺς ἐντυγχά-
νοντας συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἐὰν Ῥωμαῖος ὢν μὴ
δύνηται κατακρατεῖν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς διαλέκτου
5 καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν χειρισμὸν οἰκονομίας. πρὸς ὃν
οἰκείως ἀπηντηκέναι δοκεῖ Μάρκος Πόρκι<ος
Κάτ>ων· θαυμάζειν γὰρ ἔφη πρὸς τίνα λόγον
6 ποιεῖται τοιαύτην παραίτησιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ
τὸ τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων συνέδριον συνέταττε γράφειν
ἱστορίαν, ἴσως ἔδει προφέρεσθαι ταῦτα καὶ παρ-
7 αιτεῖσθαι· μηδεμιᾶς <δ'> ἀνάγκης οὔσης ἐθελοντὴν
ἀπογράψασθαι κἄπειτα παραιτεῖσθαι συγγνώμην
ἔχειν, ἐὰν βαρβαρίζῃ, τῆς ἁπάσης ἀτοπίας εἶναι

FRAGMENTS OF BOOK XXXIX

I. Affairs of Greece

1. Aulus Postumius was a man deserving of mention for the following reason. He was a member of one of the first families, but naturally wordy, loquacious, and vainglorious to excess. From childhood he had set his heart on acquiring Greek culture and the Greek tongue, and in both he was too much of an adept, so much so that it was partly his fault that admiration for Greece became offensive in the eyes of the older and more distinguished Romans. He even went so far as to attempt to write in Greek a poem and a serious history, in the preface to which he begs his readers to excuse him, if, as a Roman, he has not a complete mastery of the Greek language and their method of treating the subject. Marcus Porcius Cato answered him, as I think, very properly on the subject. For he said he wondered what reason he had for making this apology. Had he indeed been ordered by the Amphictyonic Council to write a history, possibly he would have been justified in speaking thus and offering excuses; but to undertake of his own accord and under no compulsion to write a history, and then to beg to be pardoned for his barbarisms, was obviously ludicrous,

146–145 B.C.

8 σημεῖον, καὶ παραπλησίως ἄχρηστον ὡσανεί τις
εἰς τοὺς γυμνικοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀπογραψάμενος πυγμὴν
ἢ παγκράτιον, παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ στάδιον, ὅτε δέοι
μάχεσθαι, παραιτοῖτο τοὺς θεωμένους συγγνώμην
ἔχειν, ἐὰν μὴ δύνηται μήτε τὸν πόνον ὑπομένειν
9 μήτε τὰς πληγάς. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς εἰκὸς γέλωτα
τὸν τοιοῦτον ὀφλεῖν καὶ τὴν δίκην ἐκ χειρὸς
λαμβάνειν· ὅπερ ἔδει καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ἱστοριο-
γράφους, ἵνα μὴ κατετόλμων τοῦ καλῶς ἔχοντος.
10 παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν λοιπὸν βίον ἐζηλώκει
τὰ χείριστα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν· καὶ γὰρ φιλήδονος
11 ἦν καὶ φυγόπονος. τοῦτο δ' ἔσται δῆλον ἐξ
αὐτῶν τῶν ἐνεστώτων· ὃς πρῶτος παρὼν ἐν
τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τόποις, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν
συνέβαινε γίνεσθαι τὴν ἐν Φωκίδι μάχην, σκη-
ψάμενος ἀσθένειαν εἰς Θήβας ἀνεχώρησεν χάριν τοῦ
12 μὴ μετασχεῖν τοῦ κινδύνου· συντελεσθείσης δὲ
τῆς μάχης πρῶτος ἔγραψε τῇ συγκλήτῳ περὶ
τοῦ κατορθώματος, προσδιασαφῶν τὰ κατὰ μέρος,
ὡς μετεσχηκὼς αὐτὸς τῶν ἀγώνων.

2 (13) Πολύβιος δὲ τὰ συμβάντα περὶ τὴν ἅλωσιν ἐν
(xl. 7) οἴκτου μέρει λέγων προστίθησι καὶ τὴν στρα-
τιωτικὴν ὀλιγωρίαν τὴν περὶ τὰ τῶν τεχνῶν ἔργα
2 καὶ τὰ ἀναθήματα· φησὶ γὰρ ἰδεῖν παρὼν ἐρριμ-
μένους πίνακας ἐπ' ἐδάφους, πεττεύοντας δὲ
3 τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τούτων. ὀνομάζει δ' αὐτῶν
Ἀριστείδου γραφὴν τοῦ Διονύσου, ἐφ' οὗ τινες
εἰρῆσθαί φασι τὸ "οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον,"
καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὸν καταπονούμενον τῷ τῆς
Δηιανείρας χιτῶνι.

and served just as little purpose, as if a man who had entered his name at the games for the boxing-contest or the pancration, upon appearing in the stadium, when the time came for the fight, were to beg the spectators to pardon him if he could not support the labour of the tussle or the blows. For it is evident that such a man would certainly be ridiculed and receive summary punishment; and so should such historians have been treated, to prevent them from such audacious disregard of the proprieties. This man in the rest of his behaviour likewise had adopted the worst vices of the Greeks. For he was both fond of pleasure and averse to toil, as will be evident from the actual facts. On his very first appearance, indeed, in Greek parts, when the battle in Phocis took place, he feigned indisposition and retired to Thebes so as not to have to take part in the fight, and when it was over he was the first to write to the senate about the victory, adding abundance of detail as if he had himself taken part in the engagement.

The Capture of Corinth

(From Strabo viii. 6. 28.)

2. Polybius, appealing to our sentiments of pity in his account of the capture of Corinth, mentions among other things the contempt of the soldiers for works of art and votive offerings. He says he was present himself and saw pictures thrown on the ground with the soldiers playing draughts on them. Among them he names the picture of Dionysus by Aristeides which some say gave origin to the phrase, "Nothing like Dionysus," and the Heracles tortured by the tunic of Deianeira.

3 (14) (xl. 8) Ὅτι διὰ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς Φιλοποίμενα εὔνοιαν οὐ καθεῖλον τὰς εἰκόνας αὐτοῦ ἐν πόλεσί τισιν οὔσας· οὕτως μοι δοκεῖ πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον ἀληθινῶς ἐνεργάζεσθαί τινα δυσεξάλειπτον εὔνοιαν τοῖς εὖ παθοῦσι.

2 Διὸ καὶ δικαίως ἂν εἴποι τις τὸ περιφερόμενον, οὐ θύρᾳ, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀμφόδῳ διέψευσται.

3 Οὐσῶν δὲ πολλῶν μὲν εἰκόνων αὐτοῦ μεγάλων δὲ τιμῶν, ἃς αἱ πόλεις ἐψηφίσαντο, Ῥωμαῖος ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κόρινθον ἀτυχήμασι τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπεχείρησεν ἀνελεῖν ἁπάσας καὶ διώκειν αὐτόν, ἐνδεικνύμενος ὥσπερ ἔτι ζῶντα Ῥωμαίοις πολέμιον καὶ κακόνουν γενέσθαι. λόγων δὲ λεχθέντων καὶ Πολυβίου πρὸς τὸν συκοφάντην ἀντειπόντος, οὔθ' ὁ Μόμμιος οὔτε οἱ πρέσβεις ὑπέμειναν ἀνδρὸς ἐνδόξου τιμὰς ἀφανίσαι.

4 . . . ἐπεβάλετο διδάσκειν διὰ πλειόνων ἀκολούθως τοῖς ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἡμῖν εἰρημένοις περὶ τἀνδρός.
5 ταῦτα δ' ἦν ὅτι διαφέροιτο μὲν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπιταττομένων, διαφέροιτο δ' ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐφ' ὅσον διδάσκειν καὶ πείθειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ποιεῖν
6 εἰκῇ. πεῖραν δὲ τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτὸν ἀληθινὴν ἔφη καὶ τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον ἐκ πυρὸς παρεσχῆσθαι χάριν κατὰ τοὺς Φιλιππικοὺς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς

3. Owing to the long-standing affection of the people for Philopoemen, the statues of him which existed in some towns were left standing. So it seems to me that all that is done in a spirit of truth creates in those who benefit by it an undying affection.

Therefore we may justly cite the current saying that he had been foiled not at the door but in the street.

(From Plutarch, *Philopoemen* 21.)

There were many statues and many decrees in his honour in the different cities, and a certain Roman at the time so disastrous to Greece, when Corinth was destroyed, attempted to destroy them all, and, as it were, to expel him from the country, accusing him as if he were still alive of being hostile and ill-disposed to the Romans. But on the matter being discussed and on Polybius refuting the false accusation, neither Mummius nor the legates would suffer the honours of the celebrated man to be destroyed.

Polybius set himself to give full information to the legates about Philopoemen, corresponding to what I originally stated about this statesman. And that was, that he often was opposed to the orders of the Romans, but that his opposition was confined to giving information and advice about disputed points, and this always with due consideration. A real proof of his attitude, he said, was that in the wars with Antiochus and Philip he did, as the saying

7 Ἀντιοχικοὺς καιρούς· πλείστην γὰρ ἔχοντα
ῥοπὴν τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ διὰ τὴν αὑτοῦ
δύναμιν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἀληθινώτατα διατετη-
8 ρηκέναι τὴν πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν, μετασχόντα
τοῦ δόγματος τοῖς Ἀχαιοῖς, ἐν ᾧ τετραμήνῳ
πρότερον τῆς Ῥωμαίων διαβάσεως Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ
τοῖς Αἰτωλοῖς τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας πόλεμον ἐξ-
ήνεγκαν, τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων σχεδὸν ἁπάντων
9 ἀπηλλοτριωμένων τῆς Ῥωμαίων φιλίας. ὧν οἱ
δέκα διακούσαντες καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀποδεξά-
μενοι τοῦ λέγοντος συνεχώρησαν καταμόνους αὐτῷ
10 τὰς τιμὰς ὑπάρχειν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσι. λαβό-
μενος δὲ τῆς ἀφορμῆς ταύτης Πολύβιος ‹τὰς›
εἰκόνας ᾐτήσατο τὸν στρατηγόν, καίπερ ἤδη
μετακεκομισμένας εἰς Ἀκαρνανίαν ἐκ Πελοπον-
νήσου, λέγω δὲ τὴν Ἀχαιοῦ καὶ τὴν Ἀράτου καὶ
11 Φιλοποίμενος. ἐν οἷς ἀγασθὲν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτοῦ
τὴν προαίρεσιν ἔστησεν αὐτοῦ λιθίνην εἰκόνα.

4 (15) Ὅτι μετὰ τὴν κατάστασιν τῶν δέκα, ἣν ἐποιή-
(xl. 9) σαντο ἐν τῇ Ἀχαΐᾳ, οὗτοι οἱ δέκα τῷ ταμίᾳ
τῷ μέλλοντι πωλεῖν τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Διαίου συν-
έταξαν, ὅ τι ποτ' ἂν ἐκλέξασθαι βουληθῇ τῶν
ὑπαρχόντων ὁ Πολύβιος, ὑφελόντα καὶ δόντα
2 δωρεάν, τἄλλα πωλεῖν τοῖς ὠνουμένοις. ὁ δὲ
προειρημένος τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τοῦ προσδέξασθαί
τι τῶν τοιούτων ὡς καὶ τοὺς φίλους παρεκάλεσε
καθόλου μηθενὸς ἐπιθυμῆσαι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ταμίου
3 πωλουμένων. συνέβαινε γὰρ τοῦτον ἐπιπορευό-
μενον τὰς πόλεις πάντων τῶν τῷ Διαίῳ κοινω-
νησάντων πωλεῖν τὰς οὐσίας, τῶν καὶ κατα-
4 κριθέντων, ὅσοι μὴ παῖδας ἢ γονέας εἶχον. ὧν
τινες μὲν οὐ προσέσχον, οἱ δὲ κατακολουθήσαντες

is, save them from the fire. For then, being the most influential man in Greece owing to his personal power and that of the Achaean League, he in the truest sense maintained his friendship for Rome, helping to carry the decree of the league, in which four months before the Romans crossed to Greece the Achaeans decided to make war from Achaea on Antiochus and the Aetolians, nearly all the other Greeks being at the time ill-disposed to Rome. The ten legates therefore, giving ear to this and approving the attitude of the speaker, permitted the tokens of honour Philopoemen had received in all the towns to remain undisturbed. Polybius, availing himself of this concession, begged the general to return the portraits, although they had been already carried away from the Peloponnesus to Acarnania—I refer to the portraits of Achaeus, of Aratus, and of Philopoemen. The people so much admired Polybius's conduct in the matter that they erected a marble statue of him.

4. After the appointment of the ten commissioners which took place in Achaea, these commissioners ordered the quaestor who was about to sell the property of Diaeus to set aside and present to Polybius whatever objects he chose to select for himself and then sell the rest to bidders. Polybius was so far from accepting any gift of the kind that he even begged his friends not to desire to acquire any of the things sold by the quaestor, who was now visiting the cities, and selling the property of all who had sided with Diaeus and had been condemned, except those who had children or parents. Some of his friends did not pay attention to his advice,

τῇ συμβουλίᾳ καλλίστην δόξαν ἐξηνέγκαντο παρὰ
τοῖς πολίταις.

5 (16) Ταῦτα δὲ διοικήσαντες ἐν ἓξ μησὶν οἱ δέκα
(xl. 10) [καὶ] τῆς ἐαρινῆς ὥρας ἐνισταμένης ἀπέπλευσαν
εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καλὸν δεῖγμα τῆς Ῥωμαίων
προαιρέσεως ἀπολελοιπότες πᾶσι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.
2 ἐνετείλαντο δὲ τῷ Πολυβίῳ χωριζόμενοι τὰς
πόλεις ἐπιπορευθῆναι καὶ περὶ <ὧν> οἱ ἄνθρωποι
ἀμφιβάλλουσι διευκρινῆσαι, μέχρις οὗ συνήθειαν
3 ἔχωσι τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις. ὃ δὴ καὶ
μετά τινα χρόνον ἐποίησε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους στέρξαι
τὴν δεδομένην πολιτείαν καὶ μηδὲν ἀπόρημα μήτε
κατ᾽ ἰδίαν μήτε κατὰ κοινὸν ἐκ τῶν νόμων γενέσθαι
4 περὶ μηδενός. διὸ καὶ καθόλου μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
ἀποδεχόμενοι καὶ τιμῶντες τὸν ἄνδρα, περὶ τοὺς
ἐσχάτους καιροὺς καὶ τὰς προειρημένας πράξεις
εὐδοκούμενοι κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ταῖς μεγίσταις
τιμαῖς ἐτίμησαν αὐτὸν κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ζῶντα
5 καὶ μεταλλάξαντα. πάντες <δ᾽> ἔκριναν κατὰ
λόγον τοῦτο ποιεῖν· μὴ γὰρ ἐξεργασαμένου
τούτου καὶ γράψαντος τοὺς περὶ τῆς κοινῆς δικαιο-
δοσίας νόμους ἄκριτα πάντα ἦν καὶ πολλῆς γέμοντα
6 ταραχῆς. διὸ καὶ τοῦτο κάλλιστον Πολυβίῳ
πεπρᾶχθαι νομιστέον πάντων τῶν προειρημένων.

6 (17) Ὅτι ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων μετὰ τὸ
(xl. 11) χωρισθῆναι ἐξ Ἀχαΐας τὸ συνέδριον, ἐπισκευάσας
τὸν ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τόπον καὶ κοσμήσας τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ
καὶ Δελφοῖς νεὼν ταῖς ἑξῆς ἡμέραις ἐπεπορεύετο
τὰς πόλεις τιμώμενος ἐν ἑκάστῃ καὶ τυγχάνων
2 τῆς ἁρμοζούσης χάριτος. εἰκότως δὲ τιμᾶσθαι
3 συνέβαινεν αὐτὸν καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν· καὶ

but those who followed it earned the high approval of their fellow-citizens.

5. The ten commissioners, having settled these matters in six months, left for Italy in the spring, leaving behind them a good example to the whole of Greece of the policy of Rome. On quitting Polybius, they enjoined him to visit the cities, and clear up any matters about which people were doubtful, until they grew accustomed to the constitution and laws; and after a certain time he succeeded in making people accept the constitution granted to them, and saw to it that no difficulty on any subject arose either in public or in private due to the laws. So that while they had from the first generally approved and honoured Polybius, in this latter period, and in their satisfaction with what he advised as I above narrated, each city now took every means to confer the highest honours on him during his life and after his death. And this was universally thought to be fully justified; for had he not perfected and drawn up the laws on the subject of common jurisdiction, all would have remained undecided and in the utmost confusion. So we should consider this to be the most brilliant achievement of Polybius among all those I mentioned.

6. The Roman general, after the general assembly had left Achaea, repaired the Isthmian course and adorned the temples at Delphi and Olympia, and on the following days visited the different cities, honoured in each of them and receiving testimonies of the gratitude due to him. It was only natural indeed that he should be treated with honour both in public and in private. For his conduct had been

γὰρ ἐγκρατῶς καὶ καθαρῶς ἀνεστράφη καὶ πρᾴως ἐχρήσατο τοῖς ὅλοις πράγμασι, μέγαν καιρὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἔχων καὶ μεγάλην ἐξουσίαν.
4 καὶ γὰρ ἐν οἷς ἐδόκει παρεωρακέναι τι τῶν καθηκόντων, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐφαίνετο δι' ἑαυτὸν τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, διὰ δὲ τοὺς παρακειμένους φίλους.
5 τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἐκφανέστατον <ἐν> τοῖς τῶν Χαλκιδέων ἱππεῦσιν, οὓς ἀνεῖλεν.

II. Res Aegypti

7 (18) Ὅτι Πτολεμαῖος ὁ τῆς Συρίας βασιλεὺς κατὰ
(xl. 12) τὸν πόλεμον πληγεὶς ἐτελεύτησε τὸν βίον, κατὰ μέν τινας μεγάλων ἐπαίνων καὶ μνήμης ὢν ἄξιος,
2, 3 κατὰ δέ τινας τοὐναντίον. πρᾷος μὲν γὰρ ἦν καὶ χρηστός, εἰ καί τις ἄλλος τῶν προγεγονότων
4 βασιλέων. σημεῖον δὲ τούτου μέγιστον· ὃς πρῶτον μὲν οὐδένα τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐπανείλετο· δοκῶ δὲ μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀλεξανδρέων μηδένα δι' ἐκεῖνον ἀποθανεῖν·
5 ἔπειτα δόξας ἐκπεσεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τἀδελφοῦ, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ λαβὼν κατ' αὐτοῦ καιρὸν ὁμολογούμενον ἀμνησικάκητον ἐποιήσατο
6 τὴν ἁμαρτίαν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ἐπιβουλεύσαντος τῇ Κύπρῳ, κύριος γενόμενος ἐν Λαπήθῳ τοῦ σώματος ἅμα καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῦ, τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τοῦ κολάζειν ὡς ἐχθρὸν ὥστε καὶ δωρεὰς προσέθηκε παρὰ τὰς πρότερον ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ κατὰ συνθήκας καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα δώσειν ὑπέσχετο.
7 κατὰ μέντοι γε τὰς ἐπιτυχίας καὶ κατορθώσεις ἐξελύε<το> τῇ ψυχῇ, καί τις οἷον ἀσωτία καὶ ῥᾳθυμία περὶ αὐτὸν Αἰγυπτιακὴ συνέβαινεν· <καὶ>

unexacting and unsullied and he had dealt leniently with the whole situation, though he had such great opportunities and such absolute power in Greece. If, indeed, he was thought to be guilty of any deflection from his duty I at least put it down not to his own initiative, but to the friends who lived with him. The most notable instance was that of the cavalrymen of Chalcis whom he slew.

II. Affairs of Egypt

7. Ptolemy, King of Syria, died of his wounds in the war. In the opinion of some he deserved high praise and a place in history, but others think contrariwise. It was true that he was gentle and good, more so than any previous king. The strongest proof of this is, that in the first place he did not put to death any of his own friends on any of the charges brought against them ; and I do not believe that any other Alexandrian suffered death owing to him. Again, although his dethronement was thought to be due to his brother, firstly, when in Alexandria he had, as was admitted, a chance of being revenged on him he treated his fault as one to be condoned, and next when his brother again conspired to deprive him of Cyprus, and he was master at Lapethus of his person and his life, he was so far from punishing him as an enemy that he loaded him with gifts in addition to what he already possessed under treaty, and promised him his daughter in marriage. However, in seasons of good fortune and success his mind grew relaxed and weakened, and he suffered from a sort of Egyptian waste of energy and indolence. And it

κατὰ τὰς τοιαύτας διαθέσεις εἰς περιπετείας ἐνέπιπτεν.

III. Ex Epilogo

8 (19) (xl. 12) Ὅτι ὁ Πολύβιός φησι κατὰ τὸ τέλος τῆς συγγραφῆς· ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἡμεῖς καταπράξαντες ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπανήλθομεν, ὡσανεὶ κεφάλαιά τινα τῶν προπεπολιτευμένων κατειργασμένοι, χάριν
2 ἀξίαν τῆς πρὸς Ῥωμαίους εὐνοίας. διὸ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχὰς ποιούμεθα τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς ζωῆς ἐν τούτοις καὶ ἐπὶ τούτων διαμεῖναι, θεωροῦντες τὴν τύχην ὡς ἔστιν ἀγαθὴ φθονῆσαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ἰσχύει καθ' ὅ τις ἂν δοκῇ μάλιστα μακαρίζεσθαι καὶ κατορθοῦν ἐν τῷ βίῳ.

3 Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω γενέσθαι συνέπεσεν· ἡμεῖς δὲ παραγεγονότες ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας βουλόμεθα, προσαναμνήσαντες τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς προεκθέσεως ἧς ἐποιησάμεθα καταβαλόμενοι τὴν ἱστορίαν, συγκεφαλαιώσασθαι τὴν ὅλην ὑπόθεσιν, οἰκειώσαντες τὴν ἀρχὴν τῷ τέλει
4 καὶ καθόλου καὶ κατὰ μέρος. ἐξεθέμεθα τοιγαροῦν ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὅτι τῆς μὲν προκατασκευῆς ποιη-
5 σόμεθα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφ' ὧν Τίμαιος ἀπέλιπεν· ἐπιδραμόντες δὲ κεφαλαιωδῶς τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν καὶ Σικελίαν καὶ Λιβύην πράξεις, ἐπειδὴ περὶ μόνων τῶν τόπων τούτων κἀκεῖνος πεποίηται τὴν ἱστορίαν, ὅτ' ἀνήλθομεν ἐπὶ τοὺς χρόνους, ἐν οἷς Ἀννίβας μὲν παρέλαβε τὰς Καρχηδόνος δυνάμεις, ὁ δὲ Δημητρίου Φίλιππος τὴν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ βασιλείαν, Κλεομένης δ' ὁ Σπαρτιάτης

was when he was in this condition that reverses used to befall him.

III. From the Epilogue

8. Polybius says at the end of his work: "Accordingly, having achieved this I returned home from Rome. I had, as it were, been enabled to capitalize the results of my previous political action, a favour which my devotion to Rome well merited. Therefore, I pray to all the gods, that during the rest of my life all may remain in the same condition and on the same terms, seeing as I do how apt Fortune is to envy men, and how she especially puts forth her power in cases where we think that our life has been most blessed and most successful. 145-144 B.C.

"So it happened to fall out; and I, now I have reached the end of my whole work, wish, after recalling to my readers the initial scheme that I laid before them as the foundation of the work, to give a summary of the whole subject matter, establishing both in general and in particular the connexion between the beginning and the end. I explained therefore at the beginning that I would commence my introductory books from the point where Timaeus left off, and after a cursory view of events in Italy, Sicily, and Africa—this author having dealt only with these parts in his history—upon reaching the time when Hannibal was entrusted with the Carthaginian forces, when Philip, son of Demetrius, succeeded to the throne of Macedon, when Cleomenes of Sparta was exiled from Greece

ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἅμα δὲ τούτοις Ἀντίοχος
μὲν τὴν ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ βασιλείαν διεδέδεκτο, Πτο-
λεμαῖος δὲ τὴν κατ' Αἴγυπτον ὁ κληθεὶς Φιλοπάτωρ,
6 ἐπηγγειλάμεθα διότι πάλιν ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν καιρῶν
ἀρξάμενοι καθ' οὓς ἦν ὀλυμπιὰς ἐνάτη καὶ τριακοστὴ
πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατόν, διέξιμεν τὰς κοινὰς τῆς οἰ-
κουμένης πράξεις, περιγράφοντες κατ' ὀλυμπιάδας
καὶ διαιροῦντες κατ' ἔτος καὶ συγκρίνοντες ἐκ
παραβολῆς τὰς καταλλήλους ἕως τῆς Καρχη-
δόνος ἁλώσεως καὶ τῆς Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Ῥωμαίων
περὶ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν μάχης, ἔτι δὲ τῆς ἐπιγενομένης
ἐκ τούτων ἀποκαταστάσεως περὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας.
7 ἐξ ὧν τὸ κάλλιστον ἔφαμεν, ἅμα δ' ὠφελιμώτατον
περιγενέσθαι τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσι· τοῦτο δ' ἦν τὸ
γνῶναι πῶς καὶ τίνι γένει πολιτείας ἐπικρατηθέντα
σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ὑπὸ μίαν
ἀρχὴν ἔπεσε τὴν Ῥωμαίων, ὃ πρότερον οὐχ
8 εὑρίσκεται γεγονός. τούτων δὴ πάντων ἡμῖν
ἐπιτετελεσμένων λείπεται διασαφῆσαι τοὺς χρό-
νους τοὺς περιειλημμένους ὑπὸ τῆς ἱστορίας καὶ
τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βύβλων καὶ <τὸν> ἀριθμὸν τῆς
ὅλης πραγματείας.

and when Antiochus inherited the throne of Syria and Ptolemy Philopator that of Egypt, I undertook to make a fresh beginning from this date, *i.e.* the 139th Olympiad, and henceforth to deal with the general history of the whole world, classing it under Olympiads, dividing those into years and taking a comparative view of the succession of events until the capture of Carthage, the battle of the Achaeans and Romans at the Isthmus and the consequent settlement of Greece. As I said, students by this treatment will attain the best and most salutary result, which is to know how and by what system of polity the whole world was subjected to the single rule of Rome—an event without any parallel in the past. Now that I have actually accomplished all this, nothing remains for me but to indicate the dates included in the history, to give a list of the number of books and an index of the whole work."

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